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Museum Policy in Taiwan and Scotland: A Comparative Study

Chiu, Ying-Chieh



UNIVERSITY
of
GLASGOW

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Centre for Cultural Policy Research
School of Culture and Creative Arts
College of Arts
University of Glasgow

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the dynamics in the process of cultural policy concerning the museum and gallery sector in Taiwan and Scotland of the United Kingdom. By applying a cross-national comparative methodology, it explores the factors influencing policy development for museums in relation to individual national contexts. The historical outline of the development of museums in relation to the political, economic, social and cultural settings of Taiwan and Scotland respectively informs the various ways in which museums have been perceived and reflects historical outcomes in contemporary policy issues. The study of the structural context of each political system brings to light institutional issues underlying the policy process. Focusing on the governance of publicly funded museums, the thesis investigates the positions of museums within public sector structures, the relationship between museums and relevant bodies at national and local level, and the role of a governing body or representative agency. Also, it looks into approaches to museum governance and resource allocation in relation to the governance models. In order to specify causes and consequences of a museum's internal operations in response to external forces in the policy process, the thesis investigates six case studies: three cases of Taiwan are the National Palace Museum, the National Taiwan Museum and the Taipei Story House, and three cases of Scotland are the National Galleries of Scotland, Glasgow Museums and the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery. Different features, diverse operational approaches and challenges facing individual museums with regard to their roots, funding sources and contents are indicated, whereby their relevant contexts are also examined. The research explores the diversity of the museum sector and demonstrates the links between museums' operation, functions and engagement in policy. To conclude the study, it specifically discusses a number of main points arising from the previous contextual and empirical examination and identifies national differences and limited similarities between Taiwan and Scotland, which ultimately contributes to the knowledge of the complex relations between governments, museums and changing environments in the policy process.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

This thesis represents the original work of Chiu Ying-Chieh unless explicitly stated otherwise in the text. The research upon which it is based was carried out at the University of Glasgow, under the supervision of Professor Philip Schlesinger and Professor Raymond Boyle during the period January 2007 to February 2011.

Chapter One : INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THIS RESEARCH

The inception of the research came from interests in the impact of cultural policy on cultural management and the issues concerned with culture-led regeneration, following a previous academic study by the author about cultural management to create economic and social benefits for communities.¹ In that study, the case of a community-based theatre was explored to examine its management in actual practice to achieve cultural aims as well as bring about economic and social impacts. Through approaches such as partnership and programming, theatre management reflected a trend of cultural tourism and involvement in local development, as well as an interactive relationship with the local community. Although the study focused on the cultural management concept, its conclusion implied that the turbulent environment had brought challenges to cultural management. Therefore, cultural policy has been a determinative influence on a cultural institution in terms of its direction of management strategies and operation, making the sustainability of long-term development questionable (Chiu, 2006).

Considering cultural policy as one of the most important external variables affecting strategic planning of a cultural institution, this research has turned the focus to the process of cultural policy. Reflected by the trend of culture-led regeneration, it is recognised that cultural policy development has been placing increasing emphasis on the use of culture. Cultural policy becomes an instrumental tool to achieve governmental objectives beyond cultural aims. In this trend, a common concern arises regarding the development of culture itself, calling the intention of cultural policy into question. Therefore, this research deliberately breaks down cultural policies and attends to variables in policymaking and implementation. To be more specific about the subject of

¹ Chiu, Y. C. (2006). *Managing Theatre to Create Economic and Social Benefits for the Community: A Case Study of the Red Playhouse*. MA dissertation, University of Northumbria at Newcastle-upon-Tyne

cultural policy, the museum and gallery sector² has been selected as the main object of study.

The guiding research question is: How does cultural policy influence the practice of a museum? A hypothesis is formed at the start, assuming that problems exist and occur in the policy process that constitute the “influence” of cultural policy on museums; thus the important focus is given to the underlying forces and their effects appearing in the relationship between cultural policy sector and museums. Primarily, this research aims to uncover the dynamics in the process of cultural policy concerning the museum sector. This involves the following specific objectives:

- **to identify the role of museums in the context of cultural policy.** This involves uncovering the rationale of policy discourses about modern museums’ potential and contribution, such as their economic and social impacts as well as other implicit function (e.g. political influence), and evaluating how the specificity of museums is considered in cultural policy initiatives.
- **to reveal the gap between cultural policy and museum practice.** This involves discussing museums’ engagement in policies while reflecting on the way in which a museum see itself in terms of institutional purpose, relationship with stakeholders and core value of its work.
- **to explore causes and consequences of policy development regarding museums.** This looks at changes in the interpretation of museums in the development of cultural policy, considering the various aspects of society, including political, economic and socio-cultural conditions.
- **to highlight structural factors within a public system affecting the making and implementation of cultural policy in terms of museums.** This involves examining the effectiveness and efficiency of the institutional process of cultural policy at and between national and local

² In this thesis, the terms ‘museum’ and ‘gallery’ are interpreted widely to refer to any institution with a collection or display accessible to the public. For the sake of simplicity, ‘museum’ or ‘the museum (and gallery) sector’ is generally used throughout the thesis to denote all museums and galleries.

levels (i.e. museums' position in the public sector, public funding arrangements and roles and responsibilities of relevant governing bodies).

As the elements of this research relating to the research objectives are located, it appears that these elements are associated with the condition of a country, such as governmental objectives and governance structures. Thus, this research places the enquiries into cultural policy and museums in a national context and intends to address the issues with distinctive national circumstances taken into consideration by means of a cross-national comparative methodology.

SETTING OF THIS RESEARCH

Viewing culture as a mechanism for achieving non-cultural goals has been shown to be a global trend commonly seen in contemporary government documents. For example, in Taiwan, the government announced the *Challenge 2008: National Development Plan* (2000-2007) identifying the values of the cultural and creative industries in encouraging economic and human growth. Following up the national development plan was the *Development Plan for the Cultural and Creative Industries*, aiming to make culture the heart of development in a new challenging age (CCA, 2004a). The British government's policy document, *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration* (DCMS, 2004), demonstrated debate and evidence that culture was a significant element in area regeneration. Also, the cultural policy statement *Scotland's Culture* (Scottish Executive, 2006) published by the Scottish Executive in January 2006, described the government's dedication to supporting the attempt to enhance the positive impact of culture on every area of public affairs, nationally and locally.

With regard to the setting of this research, Taiwan and Scotland both have distinct historical and contemporary features that provide unique materials for the research. Politically, Taiwan, with little international recognition of its formal national title 'Republic of China', has an unresolved problem in terms of the cross-strait relations with the People's Republic of China, yet is a completely independent, self-governing political entity. Scotland forms part of the United Kingdom (UK) yet retains a degree of 'national' difference from the rest of the UK, which has been particularly emphasised after devolution. In recent years,

cultural policy has had significant development in Taiwan as well as in Scotland and the UK in relation to political changes, such as the pro-Taiwan-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in power from 2000 to 2008, the return of the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) in 2008, the rule of the UK's Labour Party since 1997, Scottish devolution in 1997, and the Scottish National Party (SNP) in office since 2007. Economically, Taiwan has shifted its focus from manufacturing to technology industries before the concept of creative economy was introduced recently, while Scotland and the UK have also changed from manufacturing to service economies, such as tourism, in recent decades. Socio-culturally, Scotland and Taiwan have both confronted the issue of national identity. The crisis in Taiwan is between a Han Chinese tradition and affection towards the land of Taiwan. Due to political polarisation, Taiwan's people face an identity crisis, struggling between a Chinese identity in Taiwan and a non-Chinese Taiwanese identity. The Scottish identity has never been wiped away within the political union. Nationalism in Scotland delicately exists with a British identity.

Given the dynamics in Taiwan and Scotland, this research has undertaken examination of the issues of cultural policy in relation to museums within the respective national contexts, and conducted cross-national comparisons to reveal the complexity of the subject matter.

STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

The thesis is carried out initially by outlining theoretical perspectives on the subject matter, covering a range of academic literature, such as museum and heritage studies, cultural studies, policy studies, urban studies and public administration studies. These are drawn along five themes: reflection on culture-led regeneration, theories for contemporary museums, development of an instrumental approach to cultural policy, key policy issues in relation to museums, and effect on museum practices. Following the theoretical outline, the methodology chapter presents the overall research design and examines key aspects of the research process by explaining the reasons and arguments for the research strategy and methods selected to conduct the research. It involves the comparative methodology, case studies, qualitative data collection and analysis,

research ethics, and strengths and limitations of the methodology. Subsequent to the methodology chapter are four analysis chapters. The first analysis chapter (Chapter Four) contextualises the factors in the development of museums and cultural policy in Taiwan. In the same way, the second analysis chapter (Chapter Five) presents a contextual analysis of the development of museums and cultural policy in Scotland, distinguishing Scotland within the UK. Both chapters demonstrate a broad background of each country with parallel timelines to discuss how political, economic and social changes relate to the development of cultural policy and the museum sector as well as to demonstrate how museums are interpreted within policy agendas, e.g. cultural heritage, creative industries or social inclusion. Next, the third analysis chapter (Chapter Six) engages in empirical research into institutional issues in individual national contexts, illustrating the relations between museums and relevant bodies at national and local levels. The chapter aims to scrutinise the impact of institutional factors on the policy process through investigating governance structures, public management approaches, resource allocation and national standards. Based on the previous chapters, the fourth analysis chapter (Chapter Seven) involves six case studies: three cases in Taiwan - the National Palace Museum, the National Taiwan Museum and the Taipei Story House - and three cases in Scotland - the National Galleries of Scotland, Glasgow Museums and the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery. This chapter uses an empirical method to explore different characteristics, diverse approaches to operation, and challenges facing these museums because of their histories, financing sources and contents. The chapter discusses how each individual museum has responded to policy agendas and developed new functions beyond theories. The final chapter concludes the research, drawing together the findings and their analysis to reveal the complex process of cultural policy relating to the museum sector in Taiwan and Scotland. Linking back to the research question and objectives, it then reflects on the theory underpinning the research as well as the methodology undertaken and suggests areas for future research.

To sum up, this research contributes to the knowledge of the dynamic relations between governments, museums and changing environments in the process of cultural policy, and it is original in its addressing of the issues in relation to their national contexts. So far, the introductory chapter has explained the inception,

setting and structure of the thesis. Next, a body of literature is illustrated to create a framework of theoretical perspectives essential to this research.

Chapter Two : THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF RESEARCH

As outlined previously, this research intends to deal with the complexity of the process of cultural policy and centres on the museum sector. This chapter brings together various theoretical perspectives from existing research which builds on the understanding of fundamental concepts to this research and interrelations between the elements of study. This supports the historical analysis and contextualises the empirical examination in later chapters.

Initially, this research was motivated by the issues concerned with culture in regeneration and so was piloted by exploring the discourses about it in various kinds of research, such as urban studies, impact studies, cultural economics and cultural policy research. This chapter, then, starts with the concept, method and discussion of culture-led regeneration. Reflected by that, it turns to the specificity of museums and the instrumentalisation of cultural policy. This is carried out by illustrating contemporary definitions of museum by the worldwide museum community and theoretical developments in museology to comprehend the role of modern museums as interpreted by the sector. Next, current debates about an instrumental approach to cultural policy are explored, with the provision of a theoretical insight to interrelated causes and consequences in the process. As the instrumentality implies the political, economic and social sides of cultural policy, a number of issues regarding the sector in recent policy debates are addressed to build up the knowledge of concepts which shape a political, economic or social dimension of museums. After that, the chapter looks at the impact on the concept of museum management where organisational transformations occur as museums are re-conceptualised and become engaged in political agendas with wider concerns. Here, a trend of exploiting new media in museum practices is presented. Finally, this chapter concludes by interconnecting these perspectives on the policy process regarding the museum sector and indicates the areas which this research brings forward.

CULTURE-LED REGENERATION

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE-LED REGENERATION

The fundamental idea of culture-led regeneration is the belief in the contribution of culture. Often applied in urban policy, culture-led regeneration simply refers to the use of culture in urban development to enhance the quality of urban life. This tendency is often explained by economic and social dimensions of demand and function, and culture is generally described to bring benefits for individuals as well as for a community as a whole. Sometimes, it is also related to the natural link between creativity and cultural development (Landry, 2000).

As regards the economic dimension, culture is seen to have the capability to develop individuals' confidence, creativity and skills, and to encourage people into training and employment (Landry et al., 1996; Kay, 2000; Philips, 2004). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) states that culture can directly enhance an attractive image of local environment to encourage new industries. For instance, in major European cities cultural facilities are viewed as an appeal to attract service industries, develop tourism, or increase executive-level employment in business. Likewise, Zukin (1995) identifies that the need for improving tourism and attracting investments results in the vision of creating a city's image as a cultural, innovative and creative centre. With respect to social outcomes, participation in cultural activities is expected to increase levels of understanding between individuals or groups and improve active citizenship so as to contribute to social cohesion (Matarasso, 1997; Kay, 2000). The conflict among different social groups leads to growing attention to cultural diversity and multiculturalism (Zukin, 1995). There is a social need to facilitate exchange and understanding among diverse social groups. Cultural development plays a key role in this need, which leads to a starting point to interlink culture with education and social actions (UNESCO, 1969).

Despite the consideration of both the economic and social potential of culture, economic objectives have appeared to be the main drive in recent practice. By

drawing on the influence of North American and European experiences on British cities' economic solutions since the 1980s, Landry et al. affirm that "[t]he use of cultural activity to fuel urban regeneration was principally economic in conception and purpose" (1996, *Summary* p. ii). There have been various approaches to culture-led regeneration. According to Miles, M. (2005), it can be generalised in two ways. First, culture-led regeneration tends to involve a flagship cultural institution in a post-industrial area, such as a waterfront site, to encourage investments from the private sector and develop tourism. This can be exemplified by cultural-led regeneration in the Quayside, a post-industrial area along the sides of the River Tyne in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead, in the North East of England. It is led by massive investment in cultural infrastructure, tourism, leisure and residential development in both the Newcastle and Gateshead sides, including three iconic constructions - the Gateshead Millennium Bridge, the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Arts and the Sage Gateshead (a venue for live music performance, music education, conference and events) (Miles, S., 2005). The project has emerged from the notion of quality of life (Centre for Public Policy, 2006), and culture is anticipated to enhance the image of this area and bring new opportunities to develop the relationship between the place and people.

The second approach to culture-led regeneration, as Miles suggests, is to designate a particular district as a cultural quarter (also labelled as 'cultural cluster' or 'creative milieu') for small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) in the arts, media and leisure industries. A cultural quarter principally means the gathering of cultural or artistic activities, while in most cases leisure and/or entertainment functions are also involved (Mommias, 2004). Such a cultural strategy of clustering is undertaken for complex purposes depending on unique requirements of each individual city. It is a physical setting comprising the necessary support of both hard and soft infrastructures to build up an associative environment for innovative creation which eventually brings economic outcomes (Landry, 2000).

The generalisations outlined here have shown the concept of culture-led regeneration, including the contribution of culture with economic and social dimensions in its ideology and a concentration on economic development appearing in its practice. All in all, culture is by degrees recognised as an

inherent asset of society. Culture-led regeneration is an integrated strategy, dealing with the relation between a place and people where history, heritage, traditions and skills in people's everyday lives are valued in the development process within a place (Kay, 2000; Wansborough and Mageean, 2000).

THE IMPLICATION OF CULTURE-LED REGENERATION

The phenomenon of culture-led regeneration has brought debate over the cultural policy dimension and impact assessment. Three points which were first drawn by Bianchini (1993, pp. 201-204) and argued in a number of studies afterwards are marked here to understand the problems and effects of cultural policy in the context of culture-led regeneration.

The first is related to funding. It is noted that there is difficulty in justifying the fairness of cultural investment in temporary activities and permanent infrastructures in the application of culture-led regeneration strategies (Bianchini, 1993; García, 2004). Rather than judging each orientation of the initiative, as argued, the main consideration for this should be the way in which an investment is managed in a consistent and comprehensive cultural policy framework to achieve sustainable development (García, 2004, pp. 322-323). Second, the tendency of "economics above all" (Landry et al., 1996, p. 27) is an issue to be noted within the approaches to cultural policy (García, 2005). Imbalance seems to occur between promotion of consumption and support for production (Bianchini, 1993). It is argued that cultural consumption is endorsed exceedingly in urban regeneration (with the attention to buying and selling of cultural products or services) to achieve its economic priorities. Yet such a cultural strategy of concentrating on consumption affects the existing state of cultural production and the autonomy of creativity which any city claiming itself as a cultural or creative centre needs to maintain (Zukin, 1995; Florida, 2002; García, 2004; Gibson and Kong, 2005; McCarthy, 2005). In this regard, the relevance of funding for permanent infrastructures to support cultural production and creative industries, as mentioned above, is brought to light (García, 2004). In addition, this second dilemma concerning cultural provision is somewhat related to the third subject of concern: geographical disparity. As argued, by specifying an area and placing culture at its centre to reinforce the

economy - the clustering strategy is an obvious example - it implies a risk of uneven geographical distribution in terms of cultural provision and economic development (Bianchini, 1993; Zukin, 1995; García, 2004; Gibson and Kong, 2005). It is indicated that this approach to culture-led regeneration does not improve the separation of areas with different economic, social and cultural conditions within a city. Instead, it labels the difference and leads to displacement of cultural practitioners (Zukin, 1995; Gibson and Kong, 2005) or different income groups whereby low income groups become further marginalised as those with high incomes are attracted into planned areas (Bianchini, 1993; García, 2004; Miles, M., 2005). Furthermore, as Landry et al. (1996) note, cultural-led regeneration projects tend to use culture as a marketing tool to attract 'outsiders' and, as a result, disregard local needs and supports, which in contrast cause original residents to feel excluded.

The problems identified here in relation to the design of culture-led regeneration strategies show a degree of concern about the impact on cultural development. They reflect the complicated nature consisting of interrelated causes and consequences in the policy process, and the need for taking these issues into consideration within a complete framework of cultural policy in terms of sustainability.

Therefore, this research offers an opportunity to expand the exploration of the issues in a broad scope of cultural policy. The overview of culture-led regeneration in this section has provided an insight into cultural policy in the context of cultural regeneration and also suggested the lines along which to continue identifying theories to inform this research further. It is important to acknowledge the forces behind the development of cultural policy, where culture is linked with wider effects as well as the rationale behind discussion over 'the impact of museums' in connection with debates on cultural policy. Prior to that, it is helpful to look at contemporary definitions of a museum by global museum communities and theories in the field of museums studies to comprehend the sector in its own terms.

CONTEMPORARY MUSEUMS

DEFINING MUSEUMS

The definition of a museum has changed since this institution appeared in the world's cultural history centuries ago. Today, museums have been defined in a way that reflects current key issues related to heritage and culture. UNESCO (2007) explains that museums are “centres for conservation, study and reflection on heritage and culture”. As equally important as their educational mission, museums' primary purpose is to preserve cultural heritage by applying scientific work that is “required to understand and establish both its meaning and its possession”.³ In addition, museums have a key role in acting between culture and nature as well as in conserving and presenting the development of social communities which reflect social and cultural change and express identity and diversity.

UNESCO's statement has also applied an old museum definition by the International Council of Museums (ICOM). Since 2007, ICOM has given an amended definition of a museum as “a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment” (ICOM, 2008).⁴ The latest definition has replaced “material evidence of people and their environment” from the 2001, 1995 and 1989 definitions with “the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment” (ICOM, 2009).⁵

The Museums Association (MA), the independent organisation representing museums and galleries in the United Kingdom (UK), has adopted a definition since 1998 expressing that “museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for

³ See The UNESCO website: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=35032&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

⁴ See The ICOM website: <http://icom.museum/definition.html>

⁵ See The ICOM website: http://icom.museum/hist_def_eng.html

society”.⁶ The MA indicates that museums in this definition include art galleries with art collections and museums with historical collections (MA, 2008).

The American Association of Museums (AAM) acknowledges the diversity of museums in terms of sizes and types: "Their numbers include both governmental and private museums of anthropology, art history and natural history, aquariums, arboreta, art centers, botanical gardens, children's museums, historic sites, nature centers, planetariums, science and technology centers, and zoos" (AAM, 2000).⁷ On common ground, the AAM declares that museums are "making a unique contribution to the public by collecting, preserving, and interpreting the things of this world." In addition to adopting the ICOM's old definition, the AAM also has taken on the definition in the Museum and Library Services Act of 1996 by the United States (US) federal government regarding a museum as "[a] public or private non-profit agency or institution organized on a permanent basis for essentially educational or aesthetic purposes, which, utilising a professional staff, owns or utilises tangible objects, cares for them, and exhibits them to the public on a regular basis" (AAM, 2000).⁸

According to ICOM's Statutes (see Appendix A), the development of the definition of a museum reveals a change in the narrative of the purpose of museums. Since the 1970s, museums have been described as an institution "in the service of society and of its development". While definitions prior to the 1970s focused on the specific museum work on collections of objects, such as conserving, exhibiting and studying, later versions have added "communicating" in its work profile and increased its social relevance in the statements. The shift in museum definitions has been developed simultaneously along with ideologies in contemporary museum studies. As regards the significance of contemporary museum studies, the following sections remark on the new museology, the ecomuseum concept and non-Western models.

⁶ See The MA website: <http://www.museumsassociation.org/publications/code-of-ethics>

⁷ See The AAM website: <http://www.aam-us.org/museumresources/ethics/coe.cfm>

⁸ See The AAM website: <http://www.aam-us.org/aboutmuseums/whatis.cfm>

THE NEW MUSEOLOGY

The change of the defining narrative is a reflection of the shift in museum studies. The 'new museology', in contrast to the 'old museology', is significant to the understanding of today's museum practice. The term 'new museology' was introduced by British art historian Peter Vergo (1989) in his edited publication of *The New Museology*, stating that the old museology was "too much about museum methods, and too little about the purposes of museums" (Vergo, 1989, cited in Stam, 1993, p. 56; Macdonald, 2006, p. 2; Mason, 2006, p. 23). The critique of the old museology was its predominant attention to specialisation of traditional museum professional tasks in collection, conservation, exhibition, research, education or administration. The new museology, hence, called for an exploration of a conceptual context of museum work and a radical reassessment of the role of museums within society. Stam (1993) explains that the new museology provides the sector with a theoretical framework in response to societal changes that result in a need to re-examine the role of museums in society. In the concepts of the new museology, the increasing attention to the relations between museums, their situated contexts and those who visit, has regarded museums as social institutions playing a role in political, economic and psychological spheres. In addition, Macdonald (2006) suggests the main point of such theoretical development in terms of the new museology is to view the museum and its contents in a contextual way, whereby the meanings of museum objects, practices beyond the remit of museum tradition, such as entertainment and commercialism, and the differences of visitor experience are relatedly situated.

The essence of the conceptualisation of museum work and the re-examination of the role of museums appears to be meaning-making. On this subject, Macdonald remarks that "there was a move toward regarding knowledge, and its pursuit, realisation, and deployment, as inherently political" (2006, p. 3). The response to such a movement, according to Macdonald, is 'reflexivity', considering the conditions under which knowledge is managed. Stam (1993) explains that such attention to processing of knowledge is related to concerns about the production, interpretation, distribution and recognition of 'museum information'. Stam reviews the concepts of the new museology through the matters of value,

meaning, access, politics and economics, and suggests that these concepts are predominantly based on museum information. In that case, the changes pursued in the new museology are embodied in the emphasis of information over the traditional functions centring on objects. In terms of museum activities, the shift towards an information orientation contributes to the balance between traditional museum duties and newer functions of education and communication. Therefore, understanding the processes of dealing with information becomes important for the development of museums and the implications for museum management. Additionally, the communication of museum information through museum practices does not simply proceed between the ends of museums and their visitors. Instead, the control of information is influenced by external forces such as the media. For that reason, the full management of the processes of information contains internal and external components. Similarly, in Mason's (2005) account in the light of communication theory, the meaning-making processes include intended communication and unintended communication from museums to their visitors. Intended communication is initiated by museum professionals through the act of curating an exhibition that conveys certain 'messages'. At the same time, unintended communication inevitably results from settings beyond museum professionals' work, such as building and location, and messages unconsciously projected by museum professionals due to their ideological assumptions. In addition to communication originated by museum professionals, the visitor context also determines the meaning-making processes in which individual visitors have different backgrounds, interests, knowledge and experiences that affect how they interact with museums and how they interpret messages contained in intended and unintended communication into diverse meanings. In spite of the diversity of personal meanings, Mason points out that collective meanings are also formed according to individual visitors' similarities in a shared concept that defines an "interpretive community" (Mason, 2005, p. 206-207).

Noted so far, the core of the new museology is the contextualisation of all aspects of museum practice in relation to the political, economic and social environment. Although the framework of the new museology and the processes of meaning-making outlined here originally emerged from the museum field, its theoretical concepts and further explanations reflect a connection with theories

in broader social and cultural fields. The term ‘the new museology’ is not universally adopted, yet its rationale has been featured in current issues of cultural policy regarding museums. Some of these issues may be derived from different fields, but overall they can be interlinked with contemporary museum studies, including the new museology and the ecomuseum concept, which is demonstrated next.

THE ECOMUSEUM

Given that the rethinking of the museum’s role is based on the interaction between museums, visitors and environment, the emergence of the ecomuseum in France has been viewed as parallel to the new museology (Harrison, 1993; Chang, 2004; Davis, 2005; Boylan, 2006; Mason, 2006). The idea of the ecomuseum was evoked by environmentalism in the 1960s and was also connected with democratisation, community empowerment and the concept of sustainability, as Davis comments, “[e]comuseums would serve the present and future needs of their communities, and value the special nature of places” (2005, p. 368). The perception of sustainability has transcended from a biological perspective to a broad notion of ‘environment’ in which the natural environment is considered in combination with economic, social and cultural environments as a whole. The term ‘ecomuseum’ was first introduced in 1971 by French museologists Hugues de Varine and Georges Henri Rivière (1897-1985). The experimental nature of the ecomuseum has led to various definitions and models during its evolution. The ecomuseum concept often values the relations between heritage, environment, community and identity in its own discourse. Davis identifies that the main point of the ecomuseum is public participation, in particular at a local level, in the processes of decision-making, resource management and identity construction, in terms of all forms of cultural heritage. In this way, the ecomuseum is considered as “a mechanism that would enable the conservation of cultural and natural heritage and the maintenance of local cultural identity, the democratisation of the museum and the empowerment of local people” (2005, p. 373). Far different from traditional museums, the forms of ecomuseums vary numerously, ranging from a building or an industrial site to a settlement or a landscape, depending on community needs. Noting the

diversity of ecomuseums, Davis suggests that a shared feature among all ecomuseums is a sense of pride in place represented by them.

To establish an ideal type of an ecomuseum, Chang (2004) reviews examples of the ecomuseum in France, Canada, Britain, the US and Taiwan, and distinguishes ecomuseums from traditional museums by their mission, objectives, ideology, organisational structure, approaches in practice and prime functions. Chang concludes that the importance of the concept of the ecomuseum is represented by its revolutionary spirit aiming to challenge traditions. The revolutionary changes of the ecomuseum movement have been indicated in five aspects (Chang, 2004, pp. 208-210):

- Politics: from a top-down nature of centralisation to a bottom-up structure of a grassroots movement
- Decision-making: from a dependence on internal 'experts' to the involvement of individuals or groups outside of the organisation
- Theory: from grand discourse based on traditional professionalism to popular museology valuing community autonomy and cultural diversity
- Practice: from object-oriented to person-oriented
- Institutional character: from past-oriented to present- or future-oriented.

It seems that the rise of ecomuseums is rather inward-looking in terms of locality. However, the ideal of ecomuseums has been mostly seen in theory but it is argued that in practice the downfall of French ecomuseums appeared in the 1990s (Harrison, 1993; Chang, 2004). Chang (2004, pp. 215-218) analyses the failure through three dimensions: money, power and identity. First, it is considered that the ecomuseum concept began in an era of economic prosperity, and development has slowed following economic recessions. Second, it is argued that the importance of self-management involved by local communities within the ecomuseum concept conflicts with political manipulation in relation to financial dependence on governmental funding. Third, the vision of an ecomuseum is based on a consensus of local people, and a collective identity is

constructed in the development of the ecomuseum. To facilitate the process of identity construction, cultural uniformity is usually pursued over cultural diversity and the representation in the museum often reflects the expression of museum professionals and the dominant class. According to Chang, the issues addressed here are not absolute results of the ecomuseum theory. Rather, they imply the complexity that those involved have to deal with in the process of developing ecomuseums. So, 'ecomuseum' is a continuously evolving concept. Moreover, in his observation of contemporary ecomuseums across countries, Davis (2007) raises enquiries of sustainability. It is argued that cultural tourism and ecotourism have become a major approach to promote the ideas of sustainability. Through local tourism development, the act of conserving heritage and the provision of benefits for communities are merged. The elements used for promoting sustainable tourism are in common with the perceived values of ecomuseums. According to Davis, some ecomuseums - the development of ecomuseums in China, for example - have explicitly centred on cultural tourism, whereby the provision of economic benefits for communities is regarded as the main exploitation to achieve sustainability. In addition, in most cases there appears to be a dependence on professional and financial support from the outside. Thus, the 'sustainability' of the ecomuseum or the natural and cultural heritage the ecomuseum maintains becomes questionable.

Coincidentally, both in the ecomuseum concept and in the new museology, the most fundamental change is recognised as an obvious shift in the view of museums' primary contribution from 'objects' to 'people' in the last decades. To be specific, there has been growing attention to visitors, and a specific consideration of communities, since the 1990s (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007). Both the new museology and the ecomuseum philosophy are regarded as significant in contemporary museum studies that have affected modern practice in the sector. Both Western museological theories have also been widely referred to in non-Western countries, whereas comparative museology has distinguished non-Western models by means of cross-cultural disciplines.

COMPARATIVE MUSEOLOGY: NON-WESTERN MODELS

Comparative museology studies the similarities and differences between museologies across cultures. It is recognised that the museum is an institution developed in the Western world since the seventeenth century and was introduced to non-Western societies in terms of cultural colonialism. However, collections, institutions and their responsible posts with functions akin to those of modern Western-style museums and curators can be found worldwide, historically and presently. As Western ideologies have been a dominating influence in museological discourse, Christina Kreps (2003, 2006) argues that it is also important to take into account non-Western models of museums and museological practices in different cultural settings. From the perspective of comparative museology, critical methods and cross-cultural approaches are applied to the undertaking of what Kreps addresses as “liberating culture”⁹ in an attempt to challenge the hegemony of Western museologies. Thereby, indigenous models of heritage preservation are in particular considered.

The difference between indigenous models of museums and Western-style museums is identified in several aspects in terms of local conservation structures. The structures are closely linked to community culture, featuring various forms of museums ranging from shrines, ritual centres and meeting houses as well as unsophisticated techniques of heritage preservation and transmission, such as oral tradition. These museum-like structures are integrated into people’s lives, becoming part of society (Konare, 1983 and Mead, 1983, cited in Kreps, 2003, pp. 43-45). Noticeably, indigenous models of museums have shared contentions with the ecomuseum concept. Both have focused on community-based museums, pointed out the significance of local participation and a democratic approach in museological practice, and been concerned with ethnic minorities. Although some earlier museums may contain ecomuseum qualities, the ecomuseum concept has been to a greater extent employed in recent heritage preservation in urban and rural areas in connection with the notion of sustainability. Also, economic benefits through cultural tourism may be a dimension of community development. In contrast, indigenous models of museums are explored to

⁹ Kreps, Christina F. (2003). *Liberating Culture: cross-cultural perspectives on museums, curation, and heritage preservation*. London: Routledge

discover different curatorial approaches in different cultural traditions. The conservation structures are regarded as “living heritage”, and their sustainment is promoted (Kreps, 2003, pp. 43-44). In addition, the importance of the principles of local participation in the decision-making processes based on locally-determined standards in relation to local culture is particularly emphasised. It is stated that indigenous models of museums should be controlled by local people, even if the development of local museums may have input from professionals - trained people specialising in Western museologies (Kreps, 2003).

These three contemporary approaches to museum studies provide different insights into museums in relation to their contexts. The reason for addressing these theories is not to identify a definite link with the practical side. Rather, the concepts suggest the lines along which to investigate museum practice and evaluate cultural policy in an individual national setting. While museum studies indicate theoretical development in its own field of study, academic research that examines the trend of cultural policy in some ways corresponds to this wave of reconceptualising the museum.

CULTURAL POLICY AND MUSEUMS

INSTRUMENTALISATION OF CULTURAL POLICY

Cultural policy has appeared in various ways at different levels in the public sphere across countries. A traditional model of policy-making whereby the expression of cultural policy is the ‘input’ from the government to cultural institutions regarded as targets of cultural policy has been by degrees overwhelmed. Whether it is the written form of cultural policy or unstated cultural actions, there is an obvious trend of the instrumental approach to cultural policy around the world (Boylan, 2006). There have been increasing public discourses over the phenomenon of instrumentalisation of cultural policy in terms of the value of culture, gaps between policy and practice in the sector, and a political dimension where cultural institutions respond to the government’s economic and social agenda.

The tendency of instrumentalised cultural policy that increasingly emphasises the use of culture can be understood in a wider context of societal changes. There are a range of explanations for the process of instrumentalisation. This development is frequently allied with changes in public management and political ideologies (Selwood, 2002; Belfiore, 2004; Gray, 2007, 2008; Burton and Griffin, 2008; Tlili, 2008) as well as structural characteristics of the cultural sector. An explanation of the instrumental approach considers the argument of privatisation in the public sector, where the cultural sector has been increasingly required to become financially independent from state support so as to demonstrate the benefits beyond the cultural remits they can provide to funders. However, the causal relationship between a societal change, such as privatisation in the public sector, and the process of instrumentalisation contains a variety of complex factors. As Gray (2008) describes, in the process there have been unintended consequences resulting from endogenous and exogenous variables interacting with intended results of other reforms (due to public management reform and policy requirements) and becoming new causes for the consequent shifts. There are two ways to understand this process of instrumentalisation within the cultural sector, in particular in the museum sector: policy process and structural context.

First of all, Gray (2007) argues this development of an instrumental approach by taking into account an ideological change within public systems. It is recognised that the instrumentalisation process is specifically associated with the commodification of public policy. This commodified concept implies that the motivating force for policy development in terms of notions of value has replaced 'use-value' with 'exchange-value' (p. 207). The government's justification of cultural policy seems to be based on wide-ranging effects generated from the policy rather than those simply taking place within the cultural sector. These effects pursued by the government, hence, turn out to be the actual rationale for cultural policy. Both the ideological change towards a value-exchange model, and the justification itself, are seen as exogenous forces in the policy process. The exogenous variables in the process at national, regional and local levels, in this sense, contribute to the increasing use of the instrumental approach to cultural policy. In this respect, it is crucial to

understand the ways in which cultural policy is utilised and the intentions behind the policy.

Alternatively, Gray (2007) reveals a structural complexity in relation to the trend of instrumentalisation. It is the relatively weak position of the cultural sector in general, or the museum sector in particular, within the political and public policy context that leads to a tendency towards 'policy attachment'. The structural weakness describes the fact that there is a lack of political interest or power in the cultural sector, compared with other policy sectors. The policy actors in the sector do not have strong political and structural support, and other policy sectors have been taken into account within cultural policy. In this way, activities in the cultural sector are connected to those in other policy sectors, and the sector can ensure or obtain funding through demonstrating a role it can play in the achievement of the goals of other policy sectors with more resources or with greater political, economic and social significance. Gray (2008) explains that instrumentality implies that the focal concerns of cultural policy are no longer the museum sector's core - including education and entertainment, previously mentioned as newer functions in terms of museology. Instead, those are replaced by other concerns, such as social inclusion, community regeneration and other governmental objectives.

The dependent relationship has become increasingly important for development or even survival of the museum sector. In addition, the structural weakness is associated with the exogenous factors. The tendency of indirect central governance resulting from changes in public management has led to diverse approaches within the museum sector and so poor policy coordination, which weakens its structural position even more. Consequently, there is a less clear set of objectives in cultural terms, and sectors of higher political strength become the focus (Gray, 2008). Gray (2007) argues that it is the choice of policy actors in the sector to undertake policy attachment strategies under circumstances of structural weakness; however, it is external pressures that lead to the orientations of the choice. These external pressures are the above-mentioned policy expectations in relation to the commodification of public policy. The choices associated with the museum sector are dominated by those other concerns of political, economic and social significance perceived and justified by the government. Therefore, the determination of policy attachment strategies in

the sector has to be considered together with the government's justification for cultural policy. In other words, the instrumentalisation of cultural policy is explicable through the combination of and the interaction between both the exogenous shift in ideological perceptions in the policy process and the endogenous weakness in a structural context surrounding the sector.

Since the government's justification becomes a key concept of understanding the exogenous and endogenous variables in the process of instrumentalisation, it is worth noting that differences in a government's choice imply the variability between political systems. Gray (2007) argues that differences exist in the nature of cultural policy and societal changes between nation-states. The justification is made by the government in accordance with perceived requirements in their own particular conditions. There are different starting points as well as consequences of reform processes. Considering the specific variations between nation-states, it can be expected that there are distinctive outcomes despite a similar reform process. Hence, variations in the development of the instrumental approach to cultural policy across nation-states can be addressed through differences in the endogenous and exogenous forces between systems. Furthermore, since there is a tendency within the museum sector to reconfigure its functional activities, it depends on the degree to which individual organisations have absorbed external pressures and altered internal operations to realise to what extent the instrumentalisation has had influence on the organisations. Therefore, it is important to know the ways of managing and assessing the instrumentalising process of public policy in different organisations (Gray, 2008).

Here, the complexity of the instrumental framework of public policy has been shown. Regarding the investigation of political ideologies and structural circumstances, Gray's suggestion of variations between political systems as well as different ways of managing the instrumentalising process between organisations is a useful reminder for the research in developing case studies and conducting cross-national comparisons. In order to elucidate the national contexts, Chapters Four and Five provide an historical overview of the development of cultural policy and museums in Taiwan and in Scotland respectively, followed by Chapter Six, which illustrates the public systems of Taiwan and Scotland. Chapter Seven looks into the cases of museums individually

to study the process of cultural policy, leading up to concluding remarks and comparisons between Taiwan and Scotland in Chapter Eight.

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND 'AUDIT CULTURE'

The value-exchange model of public policy describes how the relationship between governments and the cultural sector has shifted in terms of state subsidy. The broader effects imply the actual intentions underlying the policy pursued by the government, as well as indicate the accountability that governments seek in these policy actors. To place cultural policy in a wider public policy context, or to link cultural activities to the broader effects of political, economic and social purpose, the instrumental approach signifies a demonstration of evidence both in policy design and policy evaluation. It is argued that the shift towards evidence-based policy is related to the spread of New Public Management and the problems of performance measurement.

Belfiore's (2004) study looks into the significance of Thatcherism with an economic focus through the 1980s and early 1990s, and then the shift of UK New Labour's 'social inclusion' agenda after 1997, to discover how the spread of New Public Management has had an impact on the instrumental element of cultural policy, as well as to further discuss problematic implications in terms of the instrumental notion of arts and culture. Taking into account a history of public arts funding, Belfiore suggests that it is a tradition of instrumental policymaking for culture in the UK - this view of an instrumental policymaking tradition is supported by the research, where a rational thinking behind the development of the UK's museum sector through the second half of the nineteenth century is demonstrated in Chapter Five. On the other hand, McPherson (2006) considers the greater influence of New Labour's policies. McPherson explains that even during the 1980s, when accountability became an issue for public service institutions, museums had been in trusteeship. The role of museums in the UK had not been actually questioned in the public domain until the shift in public policy in the 1990s, in particular with the rise of New Labour's political and social agendas since 1997. Due to the government's requirements of widening access to culture and encouraging social inclusion through culture, the sector was transformed from a traditional educative and academic purpose for middle-

class visitors to a community-focused and participatory operation with a concern for the general public.

As Belfiore explains, two characteristics that distinguish post-1980s instrumental cultural policy are the results of changes in public administration. Firstly, the shift towards evidence-based policy reflects the phenomenon of policy attachment by which cultural policy is attached to other more politically influential policy sectors, e.g. economic and social agendas. This characteristic of policy attachment, as previously explained by Gray's account of instrumentalisation, is related to a complex phenomenon interacting between political ideologies and structural weaknesses. Secondly, the movement relates to the "audit society" (Power, 1994, 1997, cited in Belfiore, 2004, p. 185), where the economic and social impacts of culture are discussed in measurable and quantifiable ways. This point is also stated in Selwood's (2002) article on the development of the assessment of the impact of museums sponsored by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). Based on a DCMS paper,¹⁰ it indicates that the results of the assessment are produced in the form of quantitative outputs rather than qualitative outcomes, and a solution is to change the focus of measurement from "activity" towards "impact and change" (p. 75). By means of evaluating "activity", as Burton and Griffin (2008) argue, museums are treated as a direct actor delivering the intended effects. Instead, Burton and Griffin believe that to understand the impact of museums it is more proper to see them as a catalyst in the transformation processes whereby museums have a certain capability to contribute to the increase of social capital.

The characteristic of "audit society" in particular implies the effect of changes in public management on the ways in which culture is demonstrated in the public policy sector. In such a climate, policy evaluation becomes a prevailing issue and a research area of interest regarding what evidence can prove (or not) the causal relationship between culture and the broader impact, and how evidence of the impact can be evaluated and demonstrated. While the evidence base and the models of evaluation have been explored, developed, reviewed and reproduced, both the impact claim and measurement appear to be practically

¹⁰ QUEST (2000). *Modernising the relationship*. London: DCMS Quality, Efficiency and Standards Team

problematic. For example, using a body of literature on the UK's evidence-based policy as a theoretical context, Scott (2006) looks into the Australian museum industry at federal (Commonwealth), state and local level to explore issues of impact and value from the perspectives of two groups: professionals associated with the museum field and the general public, either visitors or non-visitors. However, Scott's study reveals that the outcome and impact claims are not completely defensible. In some of the claims, there is a need for further research, whereas in other cases, the claims are not feasible or could be only evidenced on occasion. Such investigation of the impact claims, in terms of evidence-based policy, is usually followed by suggestions of appropriate evaluative indicators. For instance, Scott's (2006) study, in particular addressing the view of the general public, demonstrates that the outcomes of importance are the intangible personal and social impacts, including 'access to the past', 'developing perspective' and 'learning', which can be considered as a way of understanding public values about museums. Likewise, drawing attention to New Labour's social inclusion agenda in relation to the museum sector, West and Smith (2005) identify that 'learning' is a high priority for the museum sector and can be a comprehensible area of focus for museums to play an active role in social inclusion. It can help museums make a case for further funding. It is further suggested that the tool of assessing learning outcomes can be used for data collection and, more significantly, accompanied by reviewing and reinterpreting existing data to provide a clear evidence base of socially inclusive practice and the social impact of museums.

In addition, there emerge some fundamental questions concerning the quality of evidence base and the utilisation of evidence. It is problematic because of the political character of the processes. West and Smith (2005) attribute the problems to the nature of politics. It is argued that the design of social inclusive policy for the museum sector has shown a short-term reporting tendency due to "elections every 4 to 5 years and more frequent comprehensive spending reviews", whereas "the long-term timescale needed for social change is sometimes recognised" (West and Smith, 2005, p. 278). As a result, reports of evaluation are produced constantly in short time periods before actual outcomes occur, and so there is a lack of practical evidence to provide guidance for implementation. Moreover, Belfiore's (2004) argument specifically points out the

influence of political ideologies on the evaluative processes that make evidence-based policy questionable. Belfiore describes how “the politicisation undergone by the process of data collection” has led to “a blurring of the boundary between research and advocacy on the part of both government and cultural organisations in receipt of public funding” (2004, p. 197). Therefore, this raises questions about the unseen concern underlying policy statements and the government’s justification for subsidies in terms of the instrumental approach to cultural policy. This is related to the recognition of culture which is discussed next in terms of issues that contextualise the museum sector in several ways.

KEY ISSUES

As previously shown, there is an orientation towards ‘people’ at the heart of the thinking and operation within museums, as well as an emphasis on contextualising museums within the situated environment in contemporary museum studies. Also, the instrumentalisation of cultural policy has been driving the museum sector to demonstrate its wider contribution to society. A body of literature drawing on impacts or examining museums cross-disciplinarily has raised issues that are considered by or concerned with the public policy sector and the museum sector. Often, museum visitors are seen as users and consumers, and sometimes termed ‘audience’, ‘public’, ‘citizen’ or ‘community’ in the literature (Mason, 2005; Crooke, 2006) depending on the topics and the theoretical perspectives concerned.

SOCIAL INCLUSION

Social inclusion is one of the prevailing issues in cultural policy discourses in relation to the museum sector, in particular due to the advocacy of Britain’s New Labour government. Museums are sometimes contextualised with the concept implying that museums have a role in the process of exclusion. Referring to De Haan’s (1998, cited in Sandell, 1998, p. 407) view on institutionalised exclusion, Sandell points out that museums are one of the institutions which not only reflect the common explanation of exclusion with political, economic and social dimensions but also reinforce the process of exclusion through their institutional mechanisms such as under-representation of the excluded groups in

collections or displays, limited access, selective targets in marketing strategies or entry fees. Likewise, Kawashima (2006) explains the complexity of the relationship between culture and social inequality through discussing the tensions and conflicts between access, audience development and social inclusion. These theories include:

- Cultural consumption requires a level of knowledge and ability;
- Culture is used as a symbol by the privileged class to distinguish themselves from 'others', and so another culture would have been identified by the privileged class as soon as the culture is accessed by others;
- Culture has to some extent the inherent nature of subjectivity containing a viewpoint, position and representation, which becomes an indirect cause of social exclusion.

Accordingly, the cultural sector or the museum sector appears to have a level of social responsibility in this regard. With the tendency of instrumental cultural policy, increasing external pressures on museums have been urging the sector to deliver action on positive impacts in response to contemporary necessities of social change. In fact, the approach of museums to tackling social exclusion is not new but similar to what was pursued in the nineteenth century in the UK, whereby museums were perceived to have benefits in terms of social issues - this is shown in Chapter Five. In that case, a cultural dimension to inclusion is suggested. Given that museums are associated with institutionalised exclusion, it is considered that museums can respond to these issues by means of education (Anderson, 1997) and striving to become inclusive (Sandell, 1998). The inclusive museum concentrates on a role in combating social exclusion within a cultural dimension. The main considerations of such a cultural dimension emphasise three issues: 'representation' of cultural heritage, 'participation' in the process of cultural production, and 'access' to cultural services which incorporate both 'representation' and 'participation'. These issues are often addressed through the approach to audience development. Increasing attention has been paid to traditionally under-represented groups or the non-visiting audience (Sandell, 1998).

Sandell's suggestion of the cultural dimension of inclusion was based on the acceptance of the interrelated nature of the process of social exclusion. It is recognised that the cultural dimension of exclusion is interconnected with the political, economic and social dimensions of exclusion within a broader context of social change. The causes and consequences of inequality and subsequent problems cannot be simply disposed of in one of these dimensions. Therefore, tackling social exclusion through the cultural dimension can correspondingly generate outcomes in relation to the other dimensions. In this regard, museums can play a role in directly contributing to social inclusion. Sandell (1998, p. 412) demonstrates two positions that museums are able to take: one is museums as 'agents of social regeneration'; the other is museums as 'vehicles for broad social change'. In the former, museums can work on a project basis with groups of people that are identified within the categories of exclusion in an attempt to have positive impacts on the people involved. In the latter, museums can function as a platform that conducts initiatives on the subject of social inequality, enables public debates and produces influences on these matters. Sandell emphasises that the significance of these two approaches is the ultimate potential of museums to be part of the action for positive social change, where their influence is beyond that of widening access and enhancing visitor profiles through audience development strategies.

THE CONFUSION OF SOCIAL INCLUSION

Nevertheless, Sandell (1998) indicates the fact that the mainstream views of actors in the museum sector or in the social policy field tend to consider such impact claims as immature and unsuitable; the social role of museums is rarely acknowledged as a central purpose or mission by museums. Despite theoretical development in the field of museum studies reconceptualising museums with social functions, in general the social role is not a high priority in the sector.

The practical objection can be understood through different dimensions of tensions and contradictions. It is straightforwardly conceived that museums might be hardly related to undertaking social inclusion from a traditional viewpoint in terms of their history and the character of their audience (Sandell, 1998). In this way, collections are the core and the main basis that museums

obtain public credit for. It is worth noting that even though audience development becomes one of the most significant concepts among all the museums' attempts in line with the new museology, the emphasis on visitors is primarily market-driven. In that sense, collections and exhibitions remain at the centre of museums' strategies of audience development, whereas the public is regarded as a means to plan and examine museums' operational contexts. This is contrary to more recent policy initiatives that centre on the public and motivate museum practices towards a public focus, e.g. New Labour's social inclusion agenda (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007). Similarly, West and Smith (2005) argue that policy about how museums could perform in social inclusion is mostly the New Labour government's expectations rather than indications of practice in the sector. According to Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb (2007), the complexity of social exclusion has been simplified in the argument by the DCMS. Museums have been made relevant to the issues in an exclusive way rather than offered different possibilities in consideration of the nature of museums, e.g. formal and informal educational opportunities. It is impractical that great expectations have been placed on museums to deal with non-cultural causes and consequences of social exclusion (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007).

In fact, there exists a confusion of museums in relation to access, audience development and social inclusion. As stated by Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb (2007), while 'access' is often linked to a way of tackling social exclusion in cultural terms with an attempt to facilitate 'inclusive museums', social impacts within the social policy framework require museums to demonstrate their capabilities to deliver outcomes for wider social concerns that is more than simply through the cultural dimension. For that reason, there is a need to distinguish between exclusion that can be tackled in cultural terms, such as access and inclusive museums, and social exclusion that depends upon the sector's ability to impact on wider social concerns. West and Smith (2005) comment that it is not only confusing when general access is linked to social inclusion work which, by definition, means "engaging specific audiences who have explicit, definable problems" (2005, p. 277), but also new and challenging for the sector in terms of engaging excluded groups. On the other hand, Young's (2002) article contributes to the knowledge of barriers to working on issues of social inclusion and cultural

identity in the public sphere and in the heritage sector.¹¹ In a different way, it expands the socially unequal situations to the racist behaviours which have been relatively less addressed in the sector. Young (2002) argues that the term 'social inclusion' itself is problematic. The encouragement of participation in and access to culture appears to be focused on physical and intellectual barriers in relation to economic and educational limitations. Ethnic minorities or racial factors have been barely addressed, comparatively speaking, or misrepresented according to those social factors. These statements have shown a concern for different understandings, or misunderstandings, of these relevant but individually distinct concepts which are to some extent the reason for the social role of museums not being intensively developed and so resulting in the gap between policy and practice.

Based on the elaboration of terminological meanings and ideologies, Kawashima (2006) reflects on practical implications for cultural management and argues for the common way in which museums deal with these matters beyond their traditional context. As social inclusion is linked to the issue of access, Kawashima (2006) indicates that in cultural policy terms, audience development marked the beginning of social inclusion initiatives which have been incorporated in a wider government social policy context. Kawashima gives a fundamental definition to distinguish these two policy strands:

Whereas audience development revolves around the notions of audiences and non-audiences, social inclusion is concerned with excluded people with little regard to whether they consume the arts or not. (Kawashima, 2006, p. 58)

By reviewing policy development and comparing four types of audience development (Kawashima, 2000, cited in Kawashima, 2006, p. 57) with three types of social inclusion (Sandell, 1998, cited in Kawashima, 2006, p. 58), Kawashima states that social inclusion in audience development projects tends to have "the experimental and exploratory nature rather than the delivery of measurable outcome" (Kawashima, 2006, p. 58). Despite the differences, these two areas overlap and have similarities. There is to some extent an unclear distinction between these two areas, and in some cases they can be applied to

¹¹ The term 'the heritage sector' is used to refer to the museum, gallery and archive domains by the author.

both categories. In practice, social inclusion has expanded the concept of audience development into a non-cultural territory which cultural organisations are unfamiliar with.

In response to the social inclusion agenda, Mark O'Neill (2002), former Head of Glasgow Museums, offers an example of a practical or technical solution to the social inclusion issue in relation to access and a visitor-orientated approach in an ethical context. O'Neill's interpretation of social inclusion in relation to museums is the effort of "actively seeking out and removing barriers, of acknowledging that people who have been left out for generations need additional support in a whole variety of ways to enable them to exercise their rights to participate in many of the facilities that the better off and better educated take for granted" (2002, p. 37). In terms of social inclusion, according to O'Neill, it is important to acknowledge the equal rights of both the excluded and the included, to recognise the physical and intellectual barriers to access and to redefine museum functions in terms of the museum as a social institution. It is a new way of thinking that social inclusion in museum terms reflects a need to deal with the ethical context of visitor experience together with aesthetic values and academic standards of objects. O'Neill argues that the welfare model of access reflects traditionalism and small adjustments to democracy. On the contrary, it is crucial to determine acceptable levels of unequal access and to willingly and actively work on new ways of thinking about reducing and removing the barriers between the excluded and the included as well as new approaches to develop museum services as a whole.

O'Neill's argument about the welfare model of access in terms of social inclusion is supported by Kawashima (2006), who rephrases it as the 'product-led' approach taken by the majority of cultural organisations. Kawashima argues that the emphasis of the product-led approach is on the protection of the core product - culture:

The belief in Culture and the core product embodying it is strong, and access is widened to an extent that Culture becomes "available". Audience development tends to concentrate on barrier removal, whilst social inclusion provides an additional service, leaving the core product intact. (Kawashima, 2006, p. 68)

Likewise, McPherson (2006) contends that the fundamental nature of museums has never changed. Even when visits increase because museums offer free entry and widen their access, the profile of visitors remains similar to what it used to be. In this regard, cultural organisations need a fundamental change to move on from the product-led marketing approach towards the 'target-led' approach. It allows the cultural dimension of social inclusion, as the target-led approach identifies the benefits sought by segmented groups first before finding them the right products (Kawashima, 2006). Both Kawashima and O'Neill suggest that in order to become inclusive and tackle social exclusion through a cultural dimension, museums ought to undertake an extensive review of every aspect of organisational operation. The processes of change enable the cultural dimension of social inclusion as well as leading to organisational transformations within museums, which are discussed later on.

MUSEUMS AND CITIZENSHIP

O'Neill's account shows concern for the equal rights to participate in museums. This corresponds to the view of social exclusion as a citizenship deficiency (Newman, McLean and Urquhart, 2005). Analysis of citizenship for the last century has provided an understanding of exclusion by taking into account rights of individuals and communities, and attributing their exclusion to the failure of or obstacles to fulfilling their rights (Janoski, 1998 and Marshall, 1950, cited in Newman, McLean and Urquhart, 2005, pp. 42-43). In this sense, rights represent a key for members of society to be actively included in social networks. Therefore, social inclusion is related to active citizenship, which is often advocated as the concept of community involvement. In this context, the role of museums in encouraging active citizenship, according to a study of exhibitions and community development projects within Glasgow Museums and Tyne and Wear Museums, is evident in several aspects (Newman, McLean and Urquhart, 2005):

- Social: the availability and accessibility of cultural infrastructure, i.e. cheap or free entry to museums, facilitates engaging in social life. In addition, community projects designed for socially excluded groups in museums create an inclusive environment for participants.

- Political: participation in projects in museums mirrors the way of engaging in political life within communities; hence, it is helpful to build up the skills to develop active citizenship.
- Economic: job opportunities may not be directly offered; however, taking part in projects in museums enables participants to develop new skills and knowledge that enhance their employability.
- Cultural: the topic and content of exhibitions or projects in museums is significant to the accessibility of museums. Those composed of local or community elements and comprehensive messages are more inclusive and accessible. In addition, delivering these contents to a physical environment that is close to communities is also important to facilitate active citizenship.
- Social-Psychological: the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of museums' contribution to active citizenship can be only achieved on the basis of the idea that active citizenship is advantageous to individuals and communities. The process of participating in exhibitions and community projects enables participants to create or strengthen self-confidence and identity, which helps participants develop the capability to become active citizens.

It is suggested that the contribution of museums to constructing identity and building self-confidence is of the utmost significance and helps motivate the other aspects of capacity building for active citizenship. Speaking of the benefit of increasing employability, for instance, knowledge and skills that participants had developed through projects in museums were not recognised to be relevant to participants' working profiles in these cases, and this denial was considered as a social-psychological cause. Above all, the study shows that by means of museum-based activities museums can overcome barriers and provide an environment for encouraging active citizenship through these five elements. It especially emphasises the significant role of community-based projects and outreach programmes which focus on the needs of communities that can be physically efficient to reach people from the communities who are not traditional museum goers.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

The way in which social exclusion is tackled through encouraging active citizenship is usually incorporated in the notion of community engagement. Considering literature in cultural and social disciplines centring on ‘community’ - which can be understood at a local, national and global level - Crooke (2006) thinks that key issues in community studies have converged with subjects considered in museum studies in two areas. First, both have paid attention to ways in which community is expressed in the light of representation and cultural identity. Second, ‘community’ is increasingly utilised in public policy where museums are regarded as public service institutions and play a role of meaning-making, particularly in a closer relationship with local communities. Hence, as regards how museums function in community engagement, it is important to look at the processes where museum objects are being made meaningful to communities as well as to understand the political and social significance of museums and their collections in terms of community building and cohesion (Crooke, 2006).

The meaning-making processes, as explained in the concept of new museology, are linked to identity formation. According to Watson (2007), identities are rooted in a multifaceted compound of factors which form a sense of place. These factors are visible, experiential and memorable, and are linked to the past as well as perceived in a contemporary context. Looking at a local history museum in Great Yarmouth, England, a town with a history of fishing, where local people were involved in the museum’s decision-making processes regarding the representation of local culture and history, Watson’s study finds that “a sense of place was not located in the town’s overt links to national events and people, nor with its civic past, but in its longer history, its physical appearance over time, its historic built environment, and particularly with the iconic [...]” (p. 163). It is indicated that communities select a history of significance which encourages identity formation in the present time. Hence, museums function as facilitators in the process through recognising and strengthening the significance that is collectively recognised as distinct and symbolic to local communities (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007).

However, given that history is subjective and museums as a place of presenting public history are to an extent affected by politics and power, debate has arisen over the representation of the under-represented within museums. It is argued that the designation of such cultural activities within museums in reflection of local communities is somehow based on the limited language of the dominant class. According to Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb (2007, p. 283), “[o]n another level, whilst recognition - such as the inclusion of ethnic minority cultural objectifications on museum displays, for example - is an important stepping stone, to the extent that it goes some way towards countering silences, prejudices, misrepresentations and groundless devaluations of minority cultures”. This argument is comparable to the aforementioned explanation by Kawashima (2006) of the complex relationship between culture and social inequality.

Furthermore, it is also worth noting Crooke’s view that:

Although community may be politically manipulated, for example for nationalist ends, community should not be thought of as purely instrumental but acknowledged as part of the inevitable human processes of creating collective identities and generating senses of belonging. (Crooke, 2006, p. 174)

Certainly, political manipulation affects the autonomy of communities to a degree, as shown in the argument about the failure of developing ecomuseums which also concentrate on community development and identity construction. Yet, how instrumentality is acknowledged and coped with in community movements is open to discussion. At this point, Crooke’s suggestion of identifying the political and social significance of museums to community building becomes apparent.

As drawn by Message’s (2007) research on exploring two contemporary museum studies, the Third Way social inclusion discourses and the French concept of ecomuseums through two case studies: the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, museums have developed an advocacy role in the process of change to engage in social agendas. According to Message, contemporary museums favour the democratic approach, highlighting the function of education and the importance of access and participation (2007, p. 236). In both case studies, greater participation of

the [indigenous] communities and individuals is legitimately promoted, signifying the change in museum practice from a traditional object-orientation towards advocacy. This brings about the potential influence of museums in a similar way to what is described by Sandell (1998) as 'vehicles for broad social change' in terms of museums' position in the delivery of social benefits mentioned earlier. Acknowledging that museums in one way are regarded as a tool of social governance with political importance through what has been represented within museums, Message considers that in another way they create a public space of negotiation. Likewise, Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb also recognise the importance of an equal environment where museums can become and encourage public debates. It is argued that regarding activities within museums connected to cultural representation of certain groups or communities, "[recognition] should not be seen as an end in itself, and should not slide into an unconditional celebration of cultural identity" (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007, p. 283). Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb continue:

Cultural activities should aim at combining affirmations of cultural identities with challenges to them, creating thereby a cultural context in which people can negotiate and live with difference, rather than complacently hold on to their cultural anchorage, which may easily shade off into one sort or another of a certain cultural and ethnic narcissism. (Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007, p. 283)

The process of participation is what has to be paid attention to, whereby dialogue emerging from communities could be encouraged within museums as well as beyond the physical territory of museums, e.g. through outreach programmes (Message, 2007). As argued, museums have an ambiguous character because they are positioned at a crossing point across levels (local, national and international), zones (governments, communities and other institutions), and policy sectors (political, economic, social and cultural). Hence, their work concerned with communities is politically manipulated to a point, and this situation is more obvious at local level. In this regard, the advocacy role of museums to improve participation and allow negotiation is significant not only to communities but also to museums, since the involvement of communities in the decision-making of museums prompts the democratisation of museums (Watson, 2007). By promoting "inclusive structures of management and governance as well as two-way dialogue" (Message, 2007, p. 252), museums have their value revealed as mediators in the process of community building.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

As noted so far, the formation of collective identities as one dimension of community building is based on individual similarities in a communal concept which is connected to the meaning-making role of museums, whereas cultural differences are concerned with an equal environment to which a museum can contribute by becoming inclusive and open to public debate on the subject of difference. With the influence of globalisation, the relations between culture, identity and community at all levels have been re-drawn (Wallis, 1991; Prösler, 1996; Beier-de Haan, 2006; Rectanus, 2006), and concepts such as multiculturalism and cultural diversity have arisen in the discourses of cultural policy. Despite various understandings of these concepts, the focal point is related to the equal opportunities for representation of and participation in cultures of the majority and the minorities, and the discourse of cultural diversity is a relatively new concept in cultural policy (Wang, L. J. 2003), in which the role of museums is taken into account.

Nederveen Pieterse (1997) explains that in the traditional model, representations in museums are considered in exhibition strategies by means of specifically demonstrating differences or similarities in different cultures, or covering a wide range of knowledge cross-culturally. As the notion of multiculturalism has evolved, the focus of representations in museums is to support equal rights whereby the diversity of identities is displayed, including the collective identity and individual identities of difference. Considering the phenomenon of increasing globalisation, representations in museums have shifted from the expression of multiplicity towards the emphasis of dialogue in a reflexive process. According to Wang (2003), there emerges a new 'hybrid culture' in opposition to a homogeneous culture, which is the core of the concept of cultural diversity. In this respect, Sandhal's (2006) case study looks at how the concept of cultural diversity is embedded in museum practice. The notion of cultural diversity has been advocated in Swedish national cultural policy and is the idea that conceived the formation of the Museum of World Culture in Sweden. In the analysis of public programmes in the museum, Sandhal finds that social and cultural issues have been demonstrated by way of negotiable dialogues between groups. The emphasis of 'negotiation' once again

corresponds to previous demonstrations, including Message's (2007) account of the significance of museums as 'a public space of negotiation' in community engagement and development, Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb's (2007) statement on cultural activities within museums as able to affirm and challenge different identities, and Sandell's (1998) suggestion of museums performing as 'vehicles for broad social change' for tackling social exclusion from a cultural dimension.

HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISM: THE ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

From 'audience' and 'the excluded and the included' to 'citizen' and 'community', the role of museums has been examined across different disciplines. It is obvious that current issues of social well-being and its related concepts emphasise 'people' - a visitor-orientated approach. This trend is also reflected in another key issue for museums that contains an economic aspect: heritage and cultural tourism. For example, as indicated in the concept of the ecomuseum, the idea of sustainability is approached by promoting local cultural tourism and ecotourism whereby heritage preservation and tangible benefits for communities are combined in governmental policy concerns.

First of all, despite being of no theoretical relevance to ecomuseums, the idea of heritage and cultural tourism for museums is often associated with the political dimension in community movements. The interaction between communities and museums refers to processes of production and consumption of meanings in museums (Mason, 2005; Watson, 2007). As mentioned before, there are inevitable causes and consequences of politics and the dominant social class reflected in the processes of community development and cultural activities within museums (Crooke, 2006; Kawashima, 2006; Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007; Watson, 2007). Through the processes of meaning-making, the political intention and the subjectivity of the privileged are embedded in the production and presentation of culture, history and identity in museums. In the same way, according to Richter (1999), the political dimension is shown in heritage tourism. Heritage is regarded as a source for identity formation and a place for lodging political ideologies, and interpretive methods are increasingly used in its presentation, which requires the employment of a variety of media (Prentice, 1994). Further to the meaning-making processes, messages are conveyed widely

through tourism. In addition, taking into account the organisation of visitors and their motivation and anticipation, it is explained that the relation between visitors and heritage is established in the act of consumption. Heritage, or heritage attractions in terms of tourism, are regarded as 'products', and the meanings of heritage are made distinctively in response to the demands of visitors (Prentice, 1994). Concerning the role of heritage in tourism, visitors concerned here are beyond the scope of communities, and the profile includes tourists. Therefore, an enquiry of identity has arisen regarding authenticity (Macdonald, 1997; Richter, 1999).

This change towards a visitor orientation is related to the commodification of culture (Macdonald, 1997). In McPherson's (2006) words, it is the commercialisation of museums responding to competition among different leisure choices as well as the growing pressure on museums to perform to government agendas resulting from the evaluative nature of the New Public Management that have driven the sector closer to the tourism industry. In this way, the economic dimension of museums is recognised:

Whilst the consideration of museums as tourist attractions had not been unknown prior to this, the expression of a role in the tourist industry represented a major change in thinking about cultural services as predominantly economic, as opposed to, social entities. (McPherson, 2006, p. 48)

To enhance visitor experience as well as to generate income as a result of reduced public funding, and sometimes to improve the function of education, here museums acknowledge the benefits of applying new media and developing extensive products and services, e.g. licensing, retailing, venue-hire and other commercial activities.

This phenomenon is particularly shown by what Frey (1998) describes as superstar museums. From an economic perspective, Frey characterises 'superstar (art) museums' as those with world fame among tourists, large visitor numbers, well-known collections of individual paintings or artists, an extraordinary building, or commercialisation to a large extent. Frey explains that the superstar phenomenon has resulted from the demand and supply of the market where globalisation has an impact on the survival of the purely local,

where only a few specifics are recognised by the general public, where the arts have their social functions in human relations, and where various means of production and distribution other than traditional on-site visits have emerged due to technological development. Superstar museums have evolved to provide a 'total experience', which means activities for visitors cover all kinds of areas beyond traditional museum work, and are strategically shifted towards a visitor orientation. The main features of the superstar phenomenon, according to Frey, can be observed from the characteristics of the major museums, the ways they link internal resources to external resources through marketing, outsourcing and cross-sector activities, as well as museum management as a visitor-oriented institution.

Here, the discussion of museums in relation to heritage and cultural tourism may involve a social aim but to a larger extent has an economic perspective.

McPherson (2006) remarks that with respect to balancing museums' social role within their local communities and their dedication to tourists in relation to revenue generation, it should not be forgotten that traditional users of museums, who tend to become members or give donations, are important in the long term. McPherson concludes that museums have been heading to a multiple orientation towards combinational operation in educational, recreational and commercial contexts which are less inter-conflicting but more inter-contributing.

MUSEUM PRACTICES

MUSEUM MANAGEMENT CONCEPT: ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

Regarding the instrumental approach to cultural policy regarding museums, some have felt that the emphasis is on social rather than economic impacts (Selwood, 2002; Scott, 2006). The traditional focus of museums' works on collections is moving towards activities considered beneficial to visitors. The value of collections is articulated in a way that centres on "inspiration and creativity" (Selwood, 2002, p. 67) for the public rather than the facts of materials. In particular related to New Labour's social inclusion agenda, the role of museums has been expanded from cultural and educational specificity towards a wider sense of social well-being (Selwood, 2002; Tlili, Gewirtz and Cribb, 2007). It is

observed that the processes of change in relation to wider issues addressed in governmental agendas are interrelated with organisational transformations within museums. For instance, in Sandhal's (2006) case study of the Museum of World Culture in Sweden regarding a cultural policy of cultural diversity, it is indicated that political visions have been embodied in comprehensible museum practices, e.g. exhibitions and public programmes, whereby the museum's organisational character has transformed beyond policy objectives to create its own independence in the field. The difficulty, however, is pointed out that staff of different backgrounds constitute an influencing factor on the creation of the content and the determination of the audience. Also, writing about the ways in which Glasgow Museums deal with the issues of social inclusion, citizenship, cultural equity and access, O'Neill (2006) demonstrates that the role of civic museums includes an underlying commitment to justice while re-interpreting histories and re-understanding the personal and communal, as well as local and global, issues of identities. Despite becoming inclusive, there is a need to provide multiple accesses. Concerning an individual venue's historical background, missions and contents, a variety of approaches have been applied in each museum, and Glasgow Museums as a whole. These approaches include the creation of a new learning and access department by the City Council, a community-based partnership-working service through the Open Museum, and the object-based, visitor-centred storytelling approach in the Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery. Above all, the ethical context of visitor experience is the core aspect to be managed in the long processes of change. "Access cannot be an aspect of provision," O'Neill says, "it must be integral to the whole way a museum is organised, and at the forefront of the work of all staff, including conservators, administrators and curators, as well as educators" (O'Neill, 2002. p. 38). This requires a reassessment of every aspect of a museum. Thereby, organisational transformations occur:

The process of acknowledging the ethical obligations involved in managing the context in which visitors experience objects may also change museums, making them part of a living culture, capable of responsiveness, growth and evolution. (O'Neill, 2002, p. 39)

On the other hand, discussion of the cultural dimension of inclusion also leads to ambiguity in the notion of social inclusion. It is argued that social inclusion to an extent becomes an operational concept within museums and is linked or

incorporated with audience development and marketing strategies. According to Tlili (2008), the concept of social inclusion has been noticeably utilised in various contexts, increasing the belief that cultural policy and museum practice can respond to social inclusion agendas. On the other hand, social inclusion can be perceived by the museum sector as “another instance of governmental and managerial noise” (Tlili, 2008, p. 136). As a consequence, the ethical context of social inclusion is incorporated into a mixture of managerial operation and becomes implicit in its own terms. Hence, it is considered that the social inclusion initiatives within museums are often allied with marketing applications (Kawashima, 2006; Tlili, 2008). In this regard, social inclusion seems to be another way of promoting museums’ public image. Increasing visitor numbers of the officially identified groups of exclusion seems to be another aspect of strategic marketing aiming to enhance visitor profiles for target groups. The paradox is, again in parallel to Kawashima’s comparison of the difference between social inclusion and audience development explained earlier, that the essence of social inclusion and the market-driven management context may be in conflict with each other (Kawashima, 2006; Tlili, 2008).

Furthermore, in order to deal with the relationship between museums and their visitors and the multiple contexts where museums function nowadays, McPherson pays attention to the change in museum management in terms of professionalism:

Changes in the nature and function of museums have required changes in the ways in which they are managed, with these changes requiring appropriate responses which reconcile ‘professionalism’ with ‘commercial managerialist’ ideologies. (McPherson, 2006, p. 52)

The increasing importance of management concepts, e.g. marketing, has led to organisational changes such that the role of curators involves a more managerial function of caring for an audience, or, in another way, that the post of museum managers has become increasingly noticeable. Either way it requires the professional organisation for the sector to engage in staff training and professional development in response to the need for management skills (McPherson, 2006). Besides, Frey’s (1998) study of the superstar museum phenomenon indicates that in terms of a ‘total experience’ for visitors, organisationally there is a need for decentralisation to facilitate processes in

line with visitor segmentation, special exhibitions or support activities. In this regard, staff management, or human resource management - the business term used by Frey - requires flexibility and an adequate composition of paid employees and volunteers (Frey, 1998).

MUSEUMS AND NEW MEDIA

Another aspect of organisational transformations in museums is the exploitation of new media. It has been noted that both in theory and in practice growing attention is being paid to visitor experience. In the processes of change this requires museums to explore a variety of methods in terms of entertainment, communication and education. In particular, the role of museums in meaning-making is fundamental to the wider issues that museums have been connected to. As mentioned, the processing of knowledge is considered in the new museology, where the work of dealing with museum information becomes a new focus in contemporary museum practices. This development is also recognised as a response to the societal change towards an information age (Stam, 1993). Therefore, it has been explored how digital technologies can be opportunities for museums in dealing with the processes of knowledge as well as the various contexts of visitor experience (MacDonald and Alsford, 1997).

It is the character of communication that museums are sometimes discussed as media. According to Henning (2006, p. 305), museums can be considered as media especially because the focus in media studies has evolved from “message” in terms of “communication and representation” to an equivalent attention to “form and materiality”. In addition, Henning indicates that the functions of museums have similarities with different media in the history of media:

[The media theorist Friedrich Kittler (1999)] also historicizes the different media in terms of their functions of processing information, recording, storing, and networking. These concepts derive from the study of computer-based or digital media. This approach brings museums within the purview of media studies because museums are also technologies for archiving, preservation, storage, and the construction of cultural memory. (Henning, 2006, p. 306)

Although it is traditionally perceived that the nature of museums includes an attachment to objects and physical environments, a shifting emphasis on

‘information’ in the sector is converging with the development of new media. In Henning’s writing, since the 1930s examples have appeared of science museums, art museums and world fairs dedicated to developing new methods of communicating with participants as well as applying multimedia to displays. MacDonald and Alsford (1997) identify common characteristics between digital and physical environments of museums:

Each uses diverse media forms to communicate messages: texts, still images, audiovisual. Each is structured to facilitate exploration of knowledge domains. Each tends to have layered information, with main themes branching into sub-themes. And, yet, each offers visitors the chance to wander almost randomly, on associative principles that reflect highly personalised interests. (MacDonald and Alsford, 1997, p. 272)

Here, the discussion of digital technologies in museum practices is beyond the functions of storage and display. Rather, ‘interactivity’ is recognised as the most significant value of new media. As previously explained, the processes of communication include intended and unintended communication from museums to visitors, as well as the perception of visitors. In an apparent way, interactivity is regarded as an element of the entertainment function from demand in the market which contributes to revenue generation. Also implicitly, interactivity is related to the processes of decision-making. Macdonald (2002, cited in Witcomb, 2006, pp. 354-355) finds that visitors are empowered in the interactive process, thus enabling the democratisation of museums. In that regard, the application of new media is able to aid in both the economic and social sides of museums. According to Elliot Sherwood (1997, p. 131), the old conceptions of “the commercial objectives of the for-profit cultural industries” and “the social-cultural objectives of the heritage sector” can be now considered together in a way in which cultural heritage is taken into account with the knowledge industry in terms of source of information, the mechanism of production and distribution, and the notion of continuous learning.

However, it is not always easy to deal with the digital dimension of museums. MacDonald and Alsford (1997) point out some difficulties to be addressed in operational contexts of museums: first, it requires staff training regarding the need for applying digital technologies; second, it is hard to ensure the financial balance between costly investments in developing digital concepts and

improving incomes generated from digital projects; third, like digital work in other fields, issues such as copyright need to be constantly examined and advanced. Besides, although museums which apply a form of new media have the advantage of interactivity and immediacy in terms of communication, the nature of new media, e.g. easy and immediate reproduction, has raised enquiry into “the authenticity of the artefacts” (Henning, 2006, p. 307). As long as the digital dimension is exploited and developed within the sector, these challenges are and will be facing museums; therefore, the digital concepts become a force in organisational transformations within museums. As MacDonald and Alsford (1997) remark, “coordination” is the major way in which museums develop the digital dimension. Thus, “[t]he true vision of a virtual museum extends beyond the digitisation of the resources of any individual museum, into a collaboration recombining the resources of multiple institutions, as well as those of private citizens” (MacDonald and Alsford, 1997, p. 275).

CONCLUSION

The perspectives specified in this chapter have contributed to the comprehension of the subject of this research regarding the dynamics of the cultural policy process. These various single- and cross-disciplinary studies drawn by the five themes (culture-led regeneration, modern museologies, instrumentalisation of cultural policy, key issues concerned with museums, and museum practices) are essential to the understanding of the relations between governments, museums and their contexts in the process. Despite different matters of concern, these individual concepts have a certain conformity, which allows them to be considered jointly in discussion.

The exploration of culture-led regeneration which mirrors the tendency of an instrumental approach to cultural policy has brought up some deep-rooted questions about cultural policy. This chapter has demonstrated the shift towards evidence-based policy where economic and social ‘impact’ of culture has turned into the rationale for policy-making as well as evaluation. In such a climate, museums have been given increasing accountabilities, with regard to funding, for the delivery of outcomes for wider concerns. The belief in the contribution of culture is also shown outside the context of culture-led regeneration.

Museums are often discussed in relation to the notions of social inclusion, cultural citizenship, community engagement, cultural diversity and cultural tourism which prevail in governmental agendas nowadays. The work of museums is linked to political visions, and museums to some extent act as an instrument of politics and power, given their position at an intersection across levels, zones and policy sectors (Message, 2007). In this regard, museums have the potential to play a role as a facilitator in the policy process. In addition, the movement towards re-examination of the role of museums can be found in the field of museum studies. Regarding the work of museums, the focus has turned to the meaning-making processes within museums whereby a relationship between museums and their visitors is based on how message, or information or knowledge, is dealt with. This corresponds to the foundation of the prevailing policy issues which ultimately deal with 'representation' of cultural heritage, 'participation' in the process of cultural production, and 'access' to cultural services (Sandell, 1998). Overall, one noticeable orientation in theory, in practice and in policy is the increasing attention to 'people'. At this point, it seems that cultural policy discourses and museum studies have reached a certain common ground; however, difference exists in their starting points: while the museum sector has sought to reconceptualise their work, the public policy sector has prioritised policy ends - the wider impact. Moreover, different interpretation of these various concepts has resulted in the gap between practice and policy. Certainly, theoretical development in the museum field provokes a process of change. Museums' organisational transformations also signify their response to societal changes, e.g. the exploitation of new media in an information age and, most importantly, to governmental agendas with wider concerns. The literature outlined in this chapter has confirmed the influence of policy on museums and, consequently, practical challenges for museums. To face the unfamiliar challenges, as suggested, the best way is to review the organisation, overcome the limitations and barriers, and learn from the past (Morris, 2005).

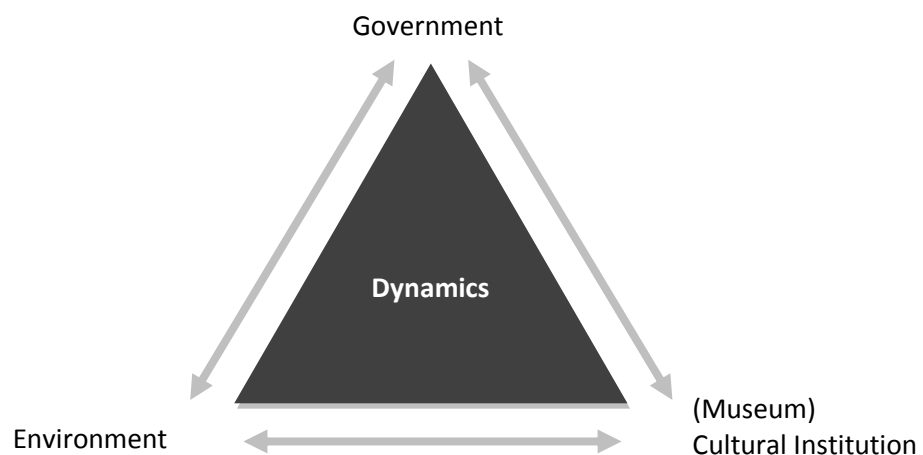
In this research, two main lines of investigation are followed to reveal the complexity of the policy process and the relations between factors: one is ideological concepts of cultural policy regarding museums, where political, economic, social and cultural variables are taken into account; the other is structural elements, i.e. museums' position in the public sector, funding, roles

of governing bodies and museums' institutional characters. While perspectives detailed above are dominated by some Western philosophies and policy discourses, certain issues of cultural policy, e.g. the creative industries, seem to be relatively less addressed in terms of museums. Taken from here, this research provides an opportunity to examine whether a cultural policy situation is true across countries and what the reasons behind this situation may be. Hence, the lines of enquiry - ideological perceptions and structural contexts (Gray, 2007, 2008) - are considered in individual national contexts. Before deliberating over the issues concerned, the work now moves on to an overview of research methods and the reasoning behind their application in this research.

Chapter Three : METHODOLOGY

As indicated in the introduction chapter, this research aims to investigate the dynamic policy process regarding the museum sector. A conceptual framework was produced in graphical format in the initial stage of research (see Figure 3-1), allowing the researcher to specify key factors, concepts, variables and the possible relations between them as the elements of study (Gray, 2009) within each of the four key areas of enquiry (see Chapter One). The research design was made to reflect the subject and to explore issues within the research context. Investigating the ideological development of cultural policy in relation to museums required contextual analysis; examining the structural aspect of the policy process and the effect of operationalised policy rationales on museum practices involved empirical analysis. Various research methods, therefore, were made use of in the process.

Figure 3-1 A Conceptual Framework of Research



This chapter introduces the research methodology employed in this research. The study was constructed by a case-based comparative framework with a cross-national setting. The data was collected mainly through documentation and semi-structured interviews. These approaches were considered practicable and pragmatic for this research, and their strengths and limitations were acknowledged. The ethical considerations and methodological challenges involved in the research process are indicated here, along with an outline of the reasoning behind the research strategy, according to methodological theories as well as the practical results of each method used for this research.

CASE-BASED CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY

THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

The research applied a comparative methodology. Comparative study has long been a significant approach in the field of social science. The comparative method is used in studies that deal with specific consequences or processes that involve different combinations of conditions (Ragin, 1987). Concerning the context of this research, there was a need to develop a research strategy for delineating the relations between governments, museums and changing environments - political, economic, social and cultural - in a particular time and place.

The point of comparative methodology is that it can help explain the complex causal relations through examining the similarities and differences across relevant cases (Ragin, 1987). This requires a series of conceptualisations:

Comparison provides a basis for making statements about empirical regularities and for evaluating and interpreting cases relative to substantive and theoretical criteria. (Ragin, 1987, p. 1)

Furthermore, the generalisations and concepts developed in comparative research are defined by the limits of specific conditions. This means that the statements are made to explain the facts relating to all cases in general, as well as one case in a specific time and space:

[Comparison] defines the limits of generalisation by specifying the conditions under which hypotheses are valid. This task [comparative research] has been approached from two angles: testing macro-hypotheses concerning the interrelations of structural elements of total systems, and conducting micro-replications in other national and cultural settings to test a proposition already validated in one setting. (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987, p. 14)

Here, a feature of the comparative methodology is pointed out: it focuses on protection of distinctiveness among the homogeneity rather than emphasising the uniformity among the differences (Øyen, 1990). It is explained that policy was regarded as “an element in the performance of political systems” (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987, p. 17) in the conceptual framework of political studies

where the processes of public policy, i.e. policy formulation and implementation, were not the focal research interest. It was not until the 1960s that the interrogation of public policy involved the comparative method in policy analysis, leading to the development of comparative policy research (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987). Comparative policy research considers the effects of the elements of studies in the fields, e.g. history, public administration, politics, economics and sociology. Therefore, it has the distinctive qualities of “problem-orientation” and “multidisciplinary” (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987, p. 17). As this research intended to explore the factors contributing to the dynamics in the policy process, the comparative method enabled the designation of sets of circumstances under investigation and allowed an examination of complex interrelations between the elements involved in the specified context.

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON

The development of comparative research has been influenced by the increasing internationalisation of economic, social and cultural exchanges across countries. The interrelations between countries are reflected in issues as well as policies designed for the issues. Common problems across borders are dealt with in similar or different ways, as a prevention or solution, in consideration of general aspects of different countries and the unique circumstances of each country (i.e. national, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental settings). The hegemony of the Western museologies is an example of the social processes that transcend any kind of boundary, while non-Western models reveal similarities and differences in comparison with their Western counterparts. Therefore, as general aspects and unique circumstances of countries are taken into account, comparative policy research contributes to the knowledge of policies and alternative strategies towards certain issues, as well as their effects on the issues. In this way, it aids the identification of transferable approaches and establishes common standards in different contexts.

The contexts can be referred to concepts such as countries, societies, cultures and systems. This comparative research is referred to as ‘cross-national’. According to Kohn (1989, cited in Øyen, 1990, p. 6), cross-national research includes four types of research interests which determine how countries are

dealt with in the studies. These are: countries as the specific focus of study, countries as the framework for studying generalisations, countries containing influencing qualities for studying certain issues, and countries seen as part of an international system in the study. However, such characterisations are not completely practicable for this research. Reflected by the conceptual framework, 'cross-national' in this research has more than one meaning. Cross-national comparisons in the research were used to examine the key factors in the complex policy processes in the two countries of interest, Taiwan and Scotland, in relation to issues of international concern. As Øyen (1990) argues, Kohn's theory cannot accurately reflect the depth and diversity of comparative research. Concepts such as 'cross-national' are used to describe macro-level comparisons, and the scope of 'cross-national' may be expressed with reference to subjective notions.

According to Øyen (1990), a big challenge of cross-national comparative study is that the social, cultural and ethnic conditions beyond country boundaries indicating several sub-societies within countries may bring about more and greater variables than those demonstrated due to national differences. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, Gray's (2007) explanation of the instrumentalisation of cultural policy also points out the variations between nation-states, e.g. the nature of cultural policy, societal changes, government choices and consequences of reform processes, in the development of an instrumental approach despite any similarity. On the other hand, it is also the aim of a cross-national study to specify the conditions and locate the variables (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987). Furthermore, cross-national comparative research studying one political system through investigating others has a significant strength in terms of discovering opportunities and restrictions of policies underlying different systems:

[C]omparison can put our judgments about policy processes and outcomes into a broader and more refined perspective. Identifying the differences among various national approaches to a given policy problem can assist in the specification of the structural, institutional and cultural constraints of the public policy. An awareness of alternatives challenges the political and cultural assumptions on which a nation's policies are based. It brings to light underlying, often unquestioned premises. (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987, pp. 14-15)

According to Elder's (1976) broader definition of cross-national comparative methodology, it is "[an] approach to knowing social reality through the examination for similarities and differences between data gathered from more than one nation (i.e. a people organized under a common government, that government having a monopoly of legitimate physical coercive force within a given territory)" (Elder, 1976, p. 340). Therefore, the cross-national approach can support the aim of this research to illustrate the dynamic policy process in relation to distinctive circumstances of a nation. The comparisons at the macro-level considered the current national systems of Taiwan and devolved Scotland, within which the settings of cultural policy and the museum sector were defined, although historically the conditions of Scotland were explored within a UK context and Taiwan was the entity of study by means of which the reasons behind the ambiguity of the current cross-strait relations between Taiwan and China were explained.

Three different cross-national approaches¹² are further distinguished by Elder (1976), two of which were undertaken by the researcher based on a belief that certain issues were shared by countries in an international system, but the difference of national histories and political, economic, social and cultural conditions limited cross-national similarities. The two approaches include the identification of "national uniqueness and cross-national contrasts" and "cross-national subsets and limited cross-national generalisations" (Elder, 1976, pp. 341-345). Methodologically, the exploration of national differences requires a base of widely differing cross-national data, and the uses and conceptualisations of the data can allow the researcher to identify the essential differing factors and the reasons behind the differences in relation to the unique national setting. The methodological concern is associated with the 'difference' and even 'uniqueness': there appear to be some preconditions that define a degree of similarity between the compared concepts whereby the distinction can be identified and discovered. Elder (1976) explains:

Implicit in the identification of cross-national uniquenesses and contrasts, however, is an assumption of a sufficient degree of cross-national similarity to enable one to say, "These two phenomena

¹² The other approach which was not applied in the research is "cross-national similarities and cross-national comparability". The choices of one or more of the cross-national approaches are determined by a researcher's basis of argument (Elder, 1976).

(sufficiently similar to be categorized together) differ in the following respects.” (Elder, 1976, p. 343)

To assure the meaningfulness of cross-national comparisons, the similarity of subsets of nations in terms of structure or context is sought, and therefore limited cross-national generalisations may be developed. The key to shaping meaningful comparisons is setting appropriate determinants for the subsets. In this research, the cross-national similarity of subsets was generated according to certain social phenomena (e.g. the influence of nationalism), the structural context of the public sector (e.g. the financing levels of museums), and a range of common issues of cultural policy (e.g. the creative industries). The subsets were not only applied to the macro-level cross-national comparisons, but also used as the units of the micro-level study within each individual national setting. For example, ‘nationalism’ was a line of investigation of the policy process across countries as well as a concept to reveal national particularity in terms of cultural policy and museums within the specific contexts of Taiwan and Scotland.

The challenges of undertaking a cross-national comparative research are noted. First, comparative policy research has a problem-oriented and multidisciplinary nature. Meanwhile, the related concepts in the academic fields, e.g. politics, economics, sociology, cultural studies, law and public administration, are developed within a single discipline. Although common issues are addressed across borders, there is no guarantee that these concepts work in the same way between countries in terms of input and output in the policy process. Hence, the difference between national approaches can be deliberated by “institutional diversity” and, most importantly, “different cultures and values” (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987, p. 478), which reaffirms the significance of appropriate subsets to meaningful cross-national comparisons. The second difficulty emerges in the link between theoretical concepts and empirical evidence. It is argued that the validity of empirical data in cross-national studies is inadequately addressed through a range of shared methodologies. In order to build a sensible connection between theories and empirical facts, it is important to identify which concepts can be practically demonstrated in different countries. Third, despite the use of scientific methods in cross-national comparative research, a cultural gap inevitably appears in the comparisons between different countries. The gap not only refers to cultural differences between the objects of study, but also the

ideological background of individual researchers. In particular, “the almost exclusive use of the English language in our disciplines” is rarely noticed (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987, pp. 493-494). Therefore, there is a need to include a combination of different theoretical concepts across disciplines, and, most importantly, to acquire the language of the countries studied in order to better establish cultural differences regarding tradition, history, ideologies, people and institutions (Diekes, Weiler and Antal, 1987).

In particular, historical sequences or consequences and their causes are found as an interest in most comparative research (Ragin, 1987). In order to contextualise museums within cultural policy in a national setting over time, the importance of history became apparent in this research. Bradshaw and Wallace (1991) emphasise that the analysis of historical processes is fundamental to studies of social reality “because a society is influenced by different historical circumstances that provide insight into its current condition” (Bradshaw and Wallace, 1991, p. 252). Jackson and Taylor (2007) claim the purpose of undertaking historical research is not only to “understand the past” but also to “explain the present or project the future” (Jackson and Taylor, 2007, p. 87). Hence, a historical dimension of contextual investigation was undertaken respectively on Taiwan and Scotland in the early stages of research. The historical analysis enabled the researcher to explore the ways in which museums have been interpreted in cultural policy with respect to contextual factors and further analyse the influence of historical legacies on contemporary policy reality. Thus it contributed to the understanding of causal relations between variables under investigation. This was produced in a narrative framework where the dynamics of national history were illustrated by combining interdependent factors including concepts, events, institutions and sometimes individuals (Jackson and Taylor, 2007), and the historical dimension provided the essential concepts within national contexts which generated the lines of enquiry for further investigation through case studies.

CASE-ORIENTED METHOD

A case-based analysis contributed to the depth of the cross-national comparative research. Firstly, it is necessary to explain the meaning of a case-oriented

method in this research. The research can be widely described as a case study where the museum sector is regarded as one kind of 'cultural institution' within the cultural policy context. Besides, in a transnational view the two countries in comparison are components of a larger international system. They can thereby be considered as the macro-level cases in the research regarding the issues of cultural policy. Yet the case-oriented method here mainly refers to the cases used in the micro-level analysis. As the subsets of cross-national comparison were simultaneously the units of study at the micro-level in relation to the uniqueness of national settings, cases were selected to make in-depth examinations of the dynamic policy process. Relatively speaking, such a study of multiple cases requires a level of comparison whereby the distinctiveness of individual cases can be recognised.

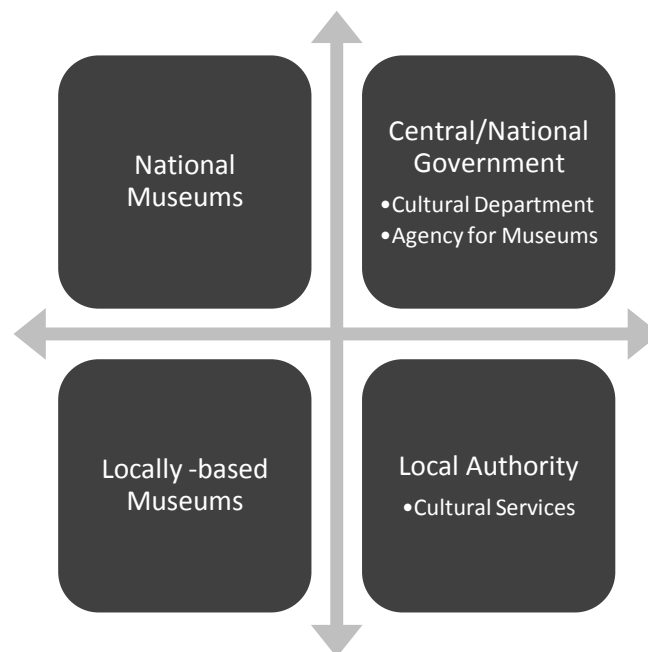
The case study itself is another widely used approach in social science studies, which intend to understand and explain complex phenomena covering contextual situations (Yin, 1993); case-oriented methods are a common approach in comparative research. It is noted that the complexity and individuality underlying the subject of social science research can be addressed through a detailed and comprehensive comparison of specific cases (Ragin, 1987; Bradshaw and Wallace, 1991). Hence, concerning the objectives of this research to identify contextual variables in the policy process and constructing relations between various factors, the research can be informed by case studies. The significance of the case study method, according to Bradshaw and Wallace (1991), is the way in which it can demonstrate various perspectives of reality, point out problems in practical situations, and provide distinctive narrations of facts. Here, the case studies enabled the researcher to investigate the real policy contexts in each example where theories and practices were concerned (Marinetto, 1999). The empirical analysis of individual cases was a way to clarify the theoretical context in terms of its relevance and appropriateness and to determine the extent to which a theory was practically valid (Bradshaw and Wallace, 1991). Each case was regarded as an integrated system where multidimensional topics were explored or specific instances were investigated at length (Remenyi et al., 1998). Thus, the elements of this study, e.g. ideological perceptions and structural factors, were specified and the interrelations between them were elucidated (Simons, 2009). In addition to the comparison

between cases, it was crucial to compare the cases as wholes by means of which the relevant contexts were examined (Bradshaw and Wallace, 1991). Thus, the study of designated cases in the respective national settings extensively and emphatically supported the comparison of national differences at the macro-level.

In terms of the design of case studies, the selected cases were recognised as sensitive to the historical context and able to address causal relationships with historical outcomes and contemporary issues. Considering actors in the dynamic policy process over time, ‘museums’ were chosen to be the unit of analysis in the case studies, following the historical research and empirical analysis of the national frameworks. The principle of selecting the cases was to choose among publicly-funded museums and include at least one national museum and one local museum from each country in order to examine the issues concerning the planning and implementation of cultural policy at both national and local levels (see Figure 3-2). Selecting the cases was also based on practicality of the study, i.e. timescale of research, the location and accessibility of the museum and budget. Additionally taken into account were some unique situations within a case (Bradshaw and Wallace, 1991; Denscombe, 2003) that emerged through a preliminary exploration of news and commentary from the media and information on the museum’s website. For example, the case at local level in the study of Taiwan was selected to reflect the approach of privatisation in the governance of museums as well as the trend of heritage regeneration. Such a case of special situations “warrants study on its own merits” because it is able to “inform some aspects of theory” or “fill in pieces of a global puzzle” (Bradshaw and Wallace, 1991, pp. 250-251). The cases in this research have their own uniqueness in addition to generalisations due to the fact that Taiwan and Scotland are rarely objects of study in terms of cultural policy and museums. Although the UK is a common preference for research into these matters, the examples often centre on museums in England and the Westminster government’s policies and institutions, and the particularity of devolved Scotland is infrequently addressed. Hence, the cases in the research were primarily compelling and valuable to study despite the insufficiency of a specific theoretical rationale in advance. Also considering the management structure of museums, the cases in Scotland were selected on a group basis. On the other

hand, the difficulty in choosing each case regarding interactive relationships and processes was deciding sufficiently clear start and end points that enabled the researcher to distinguish boundaries and contents of the case (Remenyi et al., 1998; Denscombe, 2003). Thus, based on the general theoretical concepts and taking into account the cross-national comparability, this research includes case studies of the National Palace Museum (Taiwan), National Taiwan Museum, Taipei Story House, National Galleries of Scotland, Glasgow Museums and Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery. These case studies uncovered further insights into the issues under enquiry, in particular identifying the gap between cultural policy and museum practice. Along with the impact of historical outcomes and ideological perceptions on the role and responsibility of a museum, the examination of each case contributed to the understanding of the links between governance structure, resource allocation and museum management.

Figure 3-2 Determinants of Case Selection



QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The research was approached mainly through qualitative methods including documentation and semi-structured interviews. Data were collected from a variety of sources, analysed in the process of interpretation, and presented in a descriptive framework.

DOCUMENTATION

The documentary information was derived from sources including books, journals, web pages and the Internet, administrative documents and official publications, such as policy documents, project proposals, corporate plans, annual reports, progress reviews, consultancy reports and academic papers regarding the cases and the subject. Documentation was used primarily in the historical research, written up in Chapters Four and Five. The documentary sources for the historical research were mainly secondary, including contemporary research on history and policy development as well as commentaries from the past, as the policies emerged and advanced over time. It also involved some primary historical data from the public domain alongside comments from the interviews. In addition, archival documents, e.g. government documents, parliamentary papers, departmental documents and institutional reports, contributed to primary documentary data, which was applied to the cross-national empirical studies of public systems and the cases in order to demonstrate the facts, enhance the credibility of the primary data collected from semi-structured interviews and assist the interpretation of the overall research information.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

In addition to documentary sources, semi-structured interviews were another important method of data collection to support the investigation and interpretation of policies, processes and causal relationships between various factors. As soon as the case studies had been decided, the design of the interviews began. In the preliminary exploration of a case, problems were identified in relation to issues indicated earlier, in the historical research and the empirical research of national systems. The purpose of interviews was to enhance the comprehension of some aspects, in particular the variables within the policy process, which were partially or barely demonstrated by the documentary information. The interviews were at times used for addressing new enquiries generated from the preliminary analysis of documentary data, as well as for understanding the practical issues in progress. For instance, recent media coverage and governmental publications in Taiwan and Scotland respectively, involved several issues that could be labelled as structure, funding and

legislation.¹³ According to the study of national frameworks and the design of case studies, appropriate contacts were identified. The interviewees were thought to be familiar with policy or practice, or both policy and practice in relation to museum affairs at national and local levels, including people working within the public sector (i.e. government, governmental department and publicly-funded agencies), and practitioners from the museum sector, such as directors, managers and curators. Most importantly, interviewees were anticipated to inform and elaborate on their perceptions and prospects towards the engagement of museums in cultural policy, the causes behind and the effects on the operation of museums, the facts of cultural policy regarding the museum sector and the problems of cultural policy management. The list of interviewees was determined depending on the organisational scale and structure. Therefore, in some cases several contacts from one organisation were approached, whereas in other cases, a single particularly appropriate contact was able to provide comprehensive knowledge of the subject.

Meanwhile, an interview strategy was developed. With the aim of drawing an inclusive picture of policy perspectives and strategic operations in a flexible manner, the interviews were designed in a semi-structured framework of which a standardised list of open-ended questions was developed. An example of interview questions is provided in Appendix B. The questions were posed in light of the issues concerning operational context, access, partnership, structure and resource allocation, and present and future development in legislation (see Figure 3-3). The interrogation regarding access and operational context was to discover the character of each individual museum by means of looking into its visitor profile, admission policy, educational programmes and digital development as well as investigating to what extent a museum was aligning to political, economic and social dimensions which turned the nature of museums from object to visitor orientation. By examining the concept of networking, the levels of resource allocations and the progress of legislation, it focused on the problems within the relationship between national, regional and local bodies as well as between public, private and volunteer sectors whereby infrastructures were examined in terms of the museum sector, the cultural sector and a cross-

¹³ For example, the issues in Taiwan related to the public reform and the formulation of the Museum Act and the Act for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries; the issues in Scotland related to the Culture Bill, the Creative Scotland Bill and the Recognition Scheme.

sector setting. Then questions were adjusted according to each case and each interviewee's post by amending the request, changing the order and adding or deleting questions. The semi-structured framework allowed the researcher to maintain flexibility during the interviews. It helped use the limited time and prioritised questions in the actual interview situations and follow up important information that had arisen in the interviews (Gray, 2009).

Figure 3-3 Interview Strategy



Fifteen interviews, including fourteen face-to-face and one via email, were conducted between December 2008 and February 2009 in Taiwan. Seven face-to-face interviews, including one joint interview participated in by two interviewees, were carried out in Scotland between June 2009 and August 2009. A variety of ethical considerations were addressed carefully, since human participants were involved in the research. Research ethics were considered throughout the whole research process. While the questions were individualised for each interviewee, contact began through email and continued through emails and/or phone calls. The interviewees were supplied with a written version of information for the research and interviews as well as a list of individualised questions. Concerning personal rights and dignity, there was respect for participants' voluntary involvement and statements. All interviewees were pleased with their involvement in the research and the interviews were arranged at their own convenience, e.g. considering the time and location of the interview and rearrangement alternatives. The interviewer was aware of issues

involving her own safety when undertaking an interview. Contact details of places visited on the day of each interview were left with a friend. The purpose and procedures for interviews were clearly explained once more to interviewees in person before interviews were carried out. This was accompanied by providing consent forms in English or bilingually in English and Mandarin Chinese; a sample of the bilingual consent form is included in Appendix C. Hence, interviews were conducted on the basis of informed consent given in writing. A face-to-face interview lasted for from half an hour to two hours. Interviews were recorded with a digital recorder and/or in writing. The use and preservation of the recorded contribution and the publication of the research were acknowledged and explicitly given permission in the consent forms. Due to the political sensitivity of this research concerned with certain issues relating to ongoing policy development and structural reform, it was agreed that information likely to identify the interviewees was made anonymous.¹⁴ The research ensured confidentiality and security in the storage and use of data whereby the data has been carefully stored in private storage devices and protected while being used in public work spaces.

ANALYSING THE EVIDENCE

Previously, in a contextual analysis of historical causes and consequences, the main sources were documentary data. In the empirical analysis of structural factors in each national setting and the cases, multiple sources of evidence were used and the evidence from each source was treated fairly (Yin, 1994). The raw materials gathered in the data collection process were prepared and transferred into analysable formats, including transcription of audio recordings of interviews, brief extracts of interpreted fieldwork notes, indications of additional contextual information in texts (some were related to messages contained in interviews), and translation (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006). Useful evidence from raw material was identified by coding. Relevant information was added to the texts for further analysis (Denscombe, 2003). The evidence was put in order using techniques such as making a matrix of categories and tabulating the frequency of different subjects (Yin, 1994). Next, the analysis focally attended

¹⁴ A full list of the interviewees is edited out in this publicly available version of the thesis to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

to certain data according to theoretical propositions, including historical legacies, issues within operational contexts and ideological changes behind policy development. Through pattern-matching, including the pattern of independent variables (e.g. backgrounds, cultural strategies, initiatives and operational approaches), and the predicted pattern of future development trends (Yin, 1994), the findings indicated the outcomes that occurred in the cases, explaining features of the cases, vital concerns and relationships between various concepts (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006). A descriptive framework was developed for the presentation of the findings and sometimes for the identification of the links in the analysis. While Chapter Six provides the findings of issues in respective national frameworks, Chapter Seven specifies the results of cases individually. The descriptions and explanations of the features of cases developed a set of comparable national differences and limited generalisation reflecting the research objectives (Denscombe, 2003).

It was a real challenge to capture the complexity of the relationships being examined without presenting the findings in a complicated structure. First of all, the process of qualitative data collection and analysis was time-consuming because unpredictable and unexpected situations occurred. Negotiation of access to specific documents and people was needed to gather some confidential information for the research. Arranging interviews with appropriate respondents who were capable of providing informative evidence but had a fully-packed schedule required extra effort. While some interviews were rearranged after a sudden cancellation, some proposed major informants personally did not agree to interviews in relation to their work, whereby case studies, issues, and methods of data collection were reconsidered. One interview was carried out by email for the interviewee's convenience, though it was difficult to frequently exchange follow-up questions and opinions. On a few occasions, the interviewees were so busy that they only provided brief responses. In addition, the research focused on causes and consequences occurring in the policy process, and some issues necessitated long-term investigation. Although information related to current policy arrangements were constantly updated until the publication of this thesis, it may have not been able to achieve a thorough extent of understanding in the limited time period of this doctoral research. Thus, under the circumstances of uncertainty, the possibility of incomplete evidence was

recognised. In that case, interview transcriptions were understood in combination with documentary data. Using deductive reasoning, the evidence was carefully selected, integrated and analysed from numerous cross-field data, which at times overlapped. The results were generated through interpretation of the qualitative data (Denscombe, 2003). In the process, the challenge regarding language existed not only in the abovementioned effort towards a comprehensive understanding of national differences, but also in the process of data analysis and writing up the research. Since most documentary sources and the interviews on the subject of Taiwan were in Mandarin Chinese, the translation of data was laborious, especially when the meanings beyond literal interpretation and coherence in the text were considered.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has detailed the research methodology applied to study the dynamic process of cultural policy relating to museums within national contexts. Based on a cross-national comparative framework, the use of case studies, documentary sources and interviewing enabled this thesis to involve a variety of data for a thorough, in-depth examination of the subject matter. It has introduced the theories in support of these research methods, explained the rationale behind the research design, illustrated the process of data collection and analysis, described ethical considerations and identified the strengths and limitations of the methodology.

The previous chapter outlined a range of theoretical perspectives where the elements of this study were analysed in relation to one another. As identified, further investigation is carried out along the lines of ideological perceptions and structural factors to reveal the dynamics in a specific national setting. In this regard, historical circumstances are equally important as present conditions and future development to be considered within a national context. Thus, the following two chapters provide a historical overview of the development of cultural policy and museums in relation to societal changes in Taiwan and in Scotland respectively.

Chapter Four :

MUSEUM AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN TAIWAN

This chapter provides an overview of the development of cultural policy and museums in Taiwan in an historical context. It addresses Taiwan's political circumstances in the past decades, as well as societal changes, to put forward issues directly or indirectly linked to the museum sector. It appears that Taiwan's geographical location - an island in the Western Pacific lying off the south-east coast of China - has contributed to a long-running history of maritime cross-cultural exchange. Since the Age of Discovery (or the Age of Exploration) from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century, colonial cultures have been rooted in Taiwanese society. In addition to cultural legacies of Western and Japanese colonialism, aborigines on the island and immigrants from Greater China over the last 400 years have individually representative cultures. Modern Taiwanese culture as a whole is expressed as the culture on the island that has multiple origins within and beyond the island and has developed through a process of preserving old cultures and assimilating new cultures. Therefore, the evolution of cultural policy and museums has been to a great extent linked to politics in both domestic and global contexts.

This chapter first outlines the early colonial history of Taiwan, focusing on the Japanese colonial sovereignty (1895-1945), which is significant to an understanding of modern Taiwan. It then discusses the era of the Republic of China on Taiwan, after the Chinese Nationalist government took over Taiwan from Japan following the surrender of the Japanese Empire at the end of the Second World War (WWII, 1939-1945) and the Nationalists' defeat against the Communists in the Chinese Civil War (1927-1949). This is regarded as the beginning of the sovereignty of modern Taiwan. The chapter explores political, economic, social and cultural changes in the last 60 years in accordance with political timelines, including the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) regime (1945-2000) and the Democratic Progressive Party administration (2000-2008), with the end of the chapter pointing to policy direction under the new Kuomintang government (2008-present), to investigate ideologies underlying the development of cultural policy and point out primary issues related to the museum sector.

THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF TAIWAN

TAIWAN IN WORLD HISTORY

Taiwan's modern history often dates back 400 years. Prior to the 1600s, there was no sovereign rule on the island. The population were indigenous peoples who are generally thought to belong to the Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian language family like the peoples of the South Pacific islands, e.g. the Philippines and Indonesia, and who might be the ancestors of present Aborigines.¹⁵ There was limited interest and knowledge of Taiwan in historical records of China. Although Japanese and Chinese pirates and early Chinese settlers, e.g. farmers and fishermen, migrated to Taiwan, there remained neither territorial claim to the island nor Chinese civilisation on the island until the seventeenth century. During the Age of Discovery, Taiwan was discovered to be an appropriate location from which to live and trade for European explorers in the Far East. Countries such as Portugal,¹⁶ the Netherlands and Spain eventually reached Taiwan. The Dutch (1624-1662), mainly based in Southern Taiwan, made Taiwan a colony governed by the Dutch East India Company, and drove away the Spanish (1626-1642), who had their base in Northern Taiwan. The legacies of European settlements can be seen in today's cultural scenes, such as religion (e.g. Christianity), names of places and historic sites. Under Dutch rule, Han immigration from China into Taiwan increased and Han immigrants gradually became permanent settlers instead of temporary labourers. Meanwhile, the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) of China was losing and eventually defeated by the Manchus, native to Manchuria. The Manchus established the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), which became one of the few non-Han rules in Chinese history.¹⁷ A force of

¹⁵ Currently, the government officially recognises 14 tribes of Aborigines, approximately 2% of the total population of Taiwan. Different tribes are sometimes considered different ethnic groups while some tribes are regarded as the same ethnic group. All tribes as a whole are called 'yuan-chu-min' (literally 'original inhabitants' or Aborigines) and are considered ethnically distinct from the three subgroups of Han Chinese population: Hoklo Taiwanese, Hakka Taiwanese and Mainlanders, who make up about 98% of the total population (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2008).

¹⁶ Taiwan is also known as Formosa. The term originated in 1517 when the Portuguese sighted the island of Taiwan and named it Ilha Formosa, meaning "Beautiful Island". But the Portuguese did not settle in Taiwan.

¹⁷ In the written history of China over 4,000 years, dynasties are used to divide long time periods in accordance with ruling authorities and territories. There is no clear division between dynasties regarding the end of a dynasty and the start of a successive dynasty because this usually involved years of wars. In some cases, a dynasty did not rule a unified China but included

remaining Ming loyalists defeated the Dutch and established the Kingdom of Tungning (1662-1683). Taiwan was under Han Chinese rule for the first time; this led to a new wave of Han Chinese immigration. Han Chinese immigrants, mostly from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces of Southern China, settled in Taiwan, bringing their local cultures, e.g. dialects, customs, lifestyles and religions, to the island. These early Han Chinese immigrants are the ancestors of the majority of the present population of Taiwan, including two major Han Chinese ethnic groups: Hoklo Taiwanese and Hakka Taiwanese (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2009). The Qing government defeated the Kingdom of Tungning and formally annexed Taiwan to the governance of the Fujian province. This was the first time that Taiwan was included in part of Greater China's territory. As the Qing government upgraded Taiwan's status to a full province in 1887, development in Taiwan improved, e.g. the building of the first railway and the beginning of a postal service. This progress became a drive for modernisation in the history of Taiwan. However, the Qing were defeated by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Taiwan was ceded to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki (Su, Z. Y., 2001; Su, H. H., 2002; Wang, J. L., 2003; Ho, 2007).

THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD: FIRST STAGE (1895-1915)

The Qing government's decision led to Taiwanese people's disappointment. The pursuit of independence was declared by local leaders and the Republic of Taiwan was founded in May 1895. The effort was unsuccessful due to poor prospects and organisations, and the fact that there had never been a central authority on the island to lead these actions. The government lasted for less than five months. However, it is regarded to some extent as important in a long-term view of independence and self-awareness in Taiwan (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2009).

As the first overseas colony of Imperial Japan, the Japanese government's colonial policy attempted to make Taiwan the model of Japanese colonialism.

several powers in different regions. In a conventional view, the origin of Chinese civilisation began from central China, and Han Chinese were central in every aspect. Nevertheless, outer non-Han peoples occasionally became the dominant power of a Chinese dynasty, such as the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), founded by the Mongols, and the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), founded by the Manchus. Modern Chinese culture, hence, has been influenced by cultures of different ethnic groups from dynasty to dynasty.

The Japanese colonial period has been divided into three stages in discussion of Japanese administration in Taiwan. During the early years, from 1895 to 1915, the Japanese colonial government had two primary goals for governing Taiwan. First, absolute control over Taiwan was seized mostly by means of military force and special laws distinct from the Home Islands of Japan in order to force Taiwanese inhabitants to accept a new Japanese authority and establish social order. Meanwhile, Hoklo and Hakka Taiwanese's and Aborigines' armed resistance continued fighting against the Japanese occupation (Chang, Tzeng and Chen, 2003; Chen et al., 2004). The distinct policy showed ethnic superiority generally in the attitude of Japanese authorities towards the governance of colonial Taiwan and the people of Taiwan. Similarly, there was no advocacy of Japanese immigration. Most of the Japanese residents in Taiwan were officials of the colonial government, professionals for the needs of the colonial administration, the military, the police, some businessmen and farmers. The majority of the population was still Han Chinese, and new immigration from China to Taiwan was banned. The second intent of Japan's governance of Taiwan was to promote economic exploitation through encouraging agricultural production, e.g. the cultivation of rice and sugar, not only for the domestic market but also for export to the Home Islands. In addition, Japan was dedicated to the improvement of infrastructures such as railways, roads and power supplies for economic activity. In that case, Japan's colonial policy had a progressive influence on Taiwan's economic development and accelerated Taiwan's modernisation (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2009).

The modern form of museums in Taiwan is thought to originate in this period. At that time museums were established mainly to demonstrate Japanese imperial power or engage in academic research on potential resources on the island for economic development (Hung, 2004; Chang, 2006). For example, the first site with museum functions, which no longer exists, was built in 1902 in memory of the Prince of Japan in Tainan - a city in the south of Taiwan - where the Prince died. Also, it was common for displays to be held in honour of some important Japanese Governor-Generals in terms of their 'contributions' to the Japanese Empire on colonial Taiwan. The National Taiwan Museum,¹⁸ established in 1908,

¹⁸ The National Taiwan Museum was called the Affiliated Museum of the Bureau of Productive Industries, Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan (or the Taiwan Governor's Palace Museum) at that time.

was one of the earliest museums built during the Japanese colonial period. The architecture of the Museum was primarily designed as a celebration of the Japanese Governor-General Kodama Gentarō (Hsu, 2003a), with the majority of the space being used to display statues and related objects. Sometimes the commemorative function was combined with economic intent. As two-thirds of the island's surface is covered by mountains, and natural resources such as forests, minerals and natural gas were unrealised and untapped, a great deal of investigative work on the natural environment thus was conducted. In the National Taiwan Museum, animal and plant specimens, geological specimens and anthropological specimens were collected, preserved and researched. This effort has continued contributing to the present knowledge of Taiwan's natural environment, which makes the Museum the most important one in modern Taiwan in terms of natural history (Chang, 2003; Hsu, 2003a). In addition to observable colonial characteristics of its contents, the Museum was under the governance of the governmental department responsible for industrial production on the colony. Hence, it was the first public museum at a central level with an official workforce and a large organisational framework. It is recognised as the first modern museum in Taiwan. However, the fact that it originated from Japanese colonialism with a strong political function also had an immense impact on its development in the post-WWII era. In general, museums established in the period of Japanese occupation seemed to be political mechanisms of economic use and social control.

THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD: SECOND STAGE (1915-1937)

During the second period, from 1915 to 1937, large-scale violence had reduced. With modernisation and political change in Japan, the first civilian governor was appointed to Taiwan, and an assimilatory policy was pursued by the Japanese colonial government. In this period Taiwan was governed as an extension of the Home Islands. The promotion of economic development had boosted Taiwan's economy, although most materials and products were exported to the Home Islands of Japan, which also caused increasing dependency of Taiwan on Japan. In addition, education was another effort of the colonial government to modernise Taiwan, but it was also an approach for the purpose of encouraging the loyalty of the Taiwanese to Japanese authority, and preventing anti-

Japanese movements, by means of the establishment of a public school system and rewards for the use of the Japanese language. In general, it is acknowledged that living standards ranging from public health to food production and consumption in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period were much better than those under the previous Qing administration or during the early years of the later Chinese Nationalist government. The Japanese colonial administration also transformed Taiwanese society in terms of collective identities from the Han Chinese tradition of kinship, ancestral origins and local communities into a wider sense of nation (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2009).

Nevertheless, the assimilatory policy did not care for customs and culture of Taiwanese society. The legal status of Taiwan remained distinct from the Home Islands of Japan. In contrast to Japanese nationals, Taiwanese and Aborigines were categorised as second- and third-class citizens. Inequality in Taiwanese society at that time was controversial. For example, while compulsory primary education was established for the public in Taiwan, secondary education was still exclusive mostly to Japanese nationals. Besides, special laws were applied to the island of Taiwan, not to the people of Taiwan abroad. Hence Taiwanese people in Japan had the same rights as Japanese people, so Taiwanese elites often chose to study overseas for higher education, mostly in Japan, which became a hub of developing revolutionary ideas for Taiwanese students (Chang, Tzeng and Chen, 2003; Chen et al., 2004). Often, Taiwanese elites funded young Taiwanese students to establish societies for social actions. In pursuit of equal rights, these Taiwanese figures initially proposed the assimilation that granted Taiwanese equal representation in politics and demolished the authoritarianism in Taiwan. While the trend of self-determination and democracy rose globally, the home rule of Taiwan was also advocated in order to ensure the island's independent political power and autonomy within the Japanese Empire. Consequently, they leaned towards the importance of retaining Taiwanese nationalism after finding the assimilation unacceptable, and the bid for home rule was rejected. In this stage, the social movements centred on the idea of Taiwan's individuality, often referring to the development of 'Taiwanese Consciousness' rather than a reunion with China (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2009).

Among those societies for social action organised in both Taiwan and Japan, the most significant was the Taiwanese Cultural Association, founded in 1921, pursuing “the development of Taiwanese culture” (Chen et al., 2004, p. 86). The popularity of social movements at that time was described in relation to international and local perspectives:

During the Japanese colonial period, ‘Taiwanese Consciousness’ emerged in the late 1910s, about the beginning of the First World War. The American President Woodrow Wilson’s *Fourteen Points* declaration in 1918 and the Samil Movement in Korea in 1919 inspired Taiwanese society. Taiwanese overseas students in Tokyo organised ‘Shin-Ming [New People] Society’ to request a withdrawal of special laws in Taiwan, published the Taiwan Youth Magazine¹⁹ and embarked on the social movements in terms of Taiwanese nationalism and political freedom. [...] In 1921 the largest socio-cultural organisation ‘Taiwan Cultural Society’ was established. It led a social movement involving farmers and workers all over Taiwan against Japanese imperial power and economic occupation. (Chuang, 2003, pp. 32-33)

Due to interpenetration of Japan’s military services, science, medicine, arts, modern governmental techniques, and innovated ideas universally, the traditional base of Han culture [within Taiwanese society] was challenged. Under immense historic pressure, a new political and cultural imagination begun with ‘Taiwanese locality’ and ‘Taiwanese reality’ had been created by intellectuals in colonial Taiwan. A new ideology of modern nationalism, independent government, and Taiwanese nation generally emerged. (Chen et al., 2004, pp. 65-66)

Eventually, Japan agreed to an election for a local government in Taiwan; this was held in 1935. However, the democratic progress lasted for no more than two years before militarism again arose in 1936, and a war between Japan and China erupted in 1937 (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2009).

Museums in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period continued to be exploited for economic purpose and social control. In the 1920s, rules and regulations for museum affairs were set up and incorporated within the context of social education. The role of museums in Taiwanese society as a social education institution in policy terms became apparent from then (Hsu, 2003a).

¹⁹ ‘Taiwan Shin-Ming (New People) Newspaper’ was one of the magazine’s publications and was the only medium that was completely controlled by Taiwanese people and spoke on behalf of Taiwan in terms of political, economic, social and cultural equality. It played an important role in affirming and encouraging Taiwanese nationalism during the 1920s and 1940s, yet declined in the 1940s when publication in Han characters was forbidden in the wave of Japanese militarism (Lin, 2007).

THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD: FINAL STAGE (1937-1945)

In the final period, from 1937 to 1945, between the eruption of the Second Sino-Japanese War and the end of the Second World War, popular social movements were affected by the colonial government's prohibition. With the rise of militarism in Japan, the colonial government was once more controlled and run by military officers. In order to completely exploit resources from Taiwan for use in the wars, including materials and labour force, the colonial government launched a campaign of 'Kōminka movement' in attempt to accelerate an extreme assimilation. At first, the Kōminka movement focused on building 'Japanese spirit', imposing a Japanese identity on Taiwanese society, while in later years it was devoted to encouraging Taiwanese to participate in Japanese military activity. Some described the Kōminka movement as a 'de-Chinaising' or 'Japanising' process because it carried out the adoption of Japanese names, the conversion of religions to Shintoism, the adjutancy to expressions of Japanese lifestyles, such as wearing Japanese clothing and living in Japanese-style houses, and participation in the war effort (Su, Z. Y., 2001; Su, H. H., 2002; Wang, J. L. 2003). As soon as Japan invaded China in 1931, which led to the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), Taiwanese who sympathised with China or disagreed with the invasion were allowed to leave Taiwan; however, few left. Instead, most Taiwanese were involved in Japan's war-related industries and volunteered or were called into Japanese military service. Taiwan was managed as a base of supply for Japan's wars in the Asia-Pacific region. Due to the wars, economic development declined. Museum development was not only stopped but many museums were to some degree destroyed by bombing (Hsu, 2003a). After Japan's surrender in the Second World War, Japanese residents in Taiwan, including museum professionals, returned to Japan. Since most museum work was conducted by the Japanese, museum operation was greatly affected.

As a result, the Japanese colonial administration and the assimilatory policy resulted in an immense impact on Taiwanese society in different aspects. Firstly, Taiwan had experienced modernisation alongside Japan's development. Living standards during Japanese rule showed significant improvements, especially for those who cooperated with the colonial policy. Secondly, the colonial governance established the 'top-down' nature of social change in Taiwan. On

the other hand, Japanese colonialism to some extent aroused social movements in terms of Taiwanese nationalism, so that self-awareness, the so called 'Taiwanese Consciousness', was developed (Chuang, 2003; Huang, C. C. 2003) with knowledge development and Westernisation on the Home Islands of Japan. Thirdly, the assimilatory policy, especially under the Kōminka movement, brought Taiwanese society the concept of a wider collective identity beyond ancestral origins and local communities. In addition, due to the restriction of Taiwanese people's travel to China and Chinese immigration to Taiwan, Taiwanese society turned from an immigrant society towards a native one based on the island (Huang, C. C. 2003; Chen et al., 2004).

Taiwanese society was transformed in a changing process of cultural exchanges. There had been a series of conflicts and assimilation of aboriginal and Han cultures, as well as the influence of Western and Japanese cultures. The colonial history of the island since the seventeenth century certainly led to cultural differences between Taiwan and China. For example, there exist complex feelings about Japan in Taiwanese society when speaking of the cruelty in wars, which is certainly different from the view of the Chinese society which had considerably suffered from Japan's invasion. The fifty-one-year rule of Japan therefore becomes a consideration of significance in political, social and cultural dynamics in post-WWII Taiwan, particularly on the subject of national identity.

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CHINESE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT

While Taiwan was under the sovereignty of Imperial Japan, across the Taiwan Strait the Qing Dynasty was approaching an end, overwhelmed by civil revolution. A contemporary republic, the Republic of China, was established in 1911. The Republic of China was ruled by the Nationalist government, organised representatively by the political party Kuomintang (KMT) - the Nationalist Party. In contrast to the modernisation in Taiwan, Chinese society was under turbulent circumstances of warlordism, Japanese invasion, the First and Second World Wars and the Chinese Civil War (1927-1949) between the KMT and the Communist Party of China. When Japan was eventually defeated in the Second

World War, the Chinese Nationalist government claimed Taiwan's sovereignty in 1945. In 1949, the Nationalist government lost the Chinese Civil War to the Communists and retreated to Taiwan, while the Communists founded the People's Republic of China (Wang, 2004) on the mainland.

From 1945 to 1949, the Chinese Nationalist military administration in Taiwan was controversial and led to unstable social conditions. At first the Nationalists were popularly greeted by the Taiwanese, in consideration of their Han Chinese origins, the unequal citizenship under Japanese colonial administration and the tiresome wars. However, the military administration under Chen Yi quickly brought differences to the surface:

- Socio-Political: from a continental point of view, Taiwan was only an off-shore peripheral island and a colony of defeated Japan, while the Republic of China was one of the victorious powers of the Second World War. The Nationalist military along with new Chinese migrants to Taiwan had experienced violent battles with Japanese in wars for years. In many aspects, mainlanders²⁰ still reigned supreme. On the other hand, Taiwan, with increasing self-awareness, had enlightened through the process of modernisation under the rule of a Japanese modern governing system. Public affairs, such as public health, economic development, social order and education in Taiwan had comparatively peaceful conditions in which to develop and exist, in contrast with those in China (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2009). To some extent the Taiwanese envisaged a more democratic politics and advanced citizenship, but the Nationalist military administration seemed much less civilian than the Japanese colonial government. The early administration was mostly criticised for being corrupt by dishonestly taking over property and setting up government monopolies of many industries (Su, H. H., 2002; Huang, C. C. 2003). Not to mention that the Nationalist government was preoccupied with the Civil War against the Communists, and Taiwanese were inevitably required to put effort into the war.

²⁰ 'Mainlanders' is a commonly-used name for Chinese immigrants to Taiwan since 1945, and largely around 1949.

- Socio-Cultural: despite Taiwan's individuality having grown for half a century, 'Taiwanese Consciousness' during the Japanese colonial period was based on the Han Chinese origins of culture against foreign Japanese culture (Wang, J. L. 2003). However, new Chinese immigrants had a greater variety of origins and each had distinct regional, provincial and local cultures, compared with Hoklo Taiwanese and Hakka Taiwanese, whose cultures were derived from the Fujian and Guangdong areas of Southern China. For instance, the languages that Taiwanese people used were Chinese dialects Hoklo and Hakka as well as aboriginal languages which were different from Chinese dialects spoken by most mainlanders and the official language of the Republic of China - Mandarin Chinese. More significantly, under the Japanese assimilatory and educational policy, the Japanese language had been commonly applied in Taiwanese society (Wang, 2004; Ho, 2007), but Japanese culture existing in Taiwanese society was foreign and even offensive to mainlanders. In addition to sharing the cost of wars on China, Taiwan suffered further damages in the early years after the Second World War since the new administration sought to extensively destroy the legacy of Japanese colonialism. The reality was far from the social expectation of a return to pre-war modernised stability and was another substantial shift for the Taiwanese, who had adjusted to Japanese culture at different levels.

The differences led to a series of clashes between the Nationalist military administration and the Taiwanese people, especially the bloody 228 Incident (28th February, 1947) and the subsequent era of White Terror, when all other parties were illegal and those who opposed the Nationalists were persecuted, imprisoned and executed. The new government seemingly lost trust and support among the populace in Taiwan, and at the same time continued encountering the failing Civil War. Eventually, the government of the Republic of China, led by Chiang Kai-Shek, the KMT director and President of the Republic of China, relocated its capital in Taipei in 1949. Approximately two million refugees, including government officials, KMT party members, soldiers, business elites and intellectuals, fled from China to Taiwan - the island had a population of nearly six million by the end of Japanese rule. The Nationalist government and most of the immigrated mainlanders had considered Taiwan as a temporary base and

expected the 'restoration of China'. To maintain a solid domestic environment, Taiwan was ruled under martial law from 1948 to 1987 and the KMT became the sole party holding the highest position in the Chinese Nationalist government. In that case, government employees mainly comprising mainlanders were barely distinguishable from party members, which met with much criticism of interchangeability of public property and party property (Su, Z. Y., 2001; Su, H. H., 2002). Since the 1960s and 1970s, the Republic of China on Taiwan maintained rapid industrialisation and prosperous economy, which made Taiwan noted as one of the Four Asian Tigers. Due to the Cold War, the Republic of China was regarded as the sole legitimate government of China by most major countries in the world (Wang, J. L. 2003). In 1971 the People's Republic of China (the Communists) replaced the Republic of China (the Nationalists) as the single representative of China in the United Nations. In spite of discouragement from diplomacy and foreign relations, liberalisation and democratisation of Taiwan's political system began under President Chiang Ching-Kuo, Chiang Kai-Shek's successor and also his son, especially when the younger Chiang lifted martial law in 1987. In the process, the Taiwanese gradually gained equal opportunities to mainlanders in politics. After the death of Chiang Ching-Kuo in 1988, his vice-president Lee Teng-Hui, a native Taiwanese selected by Chiang in 1984, succeeded as President of the Republic of China and continued political reforms by transferring political power equally to native Taiwanese and promoting localisation (Su, Z. Y., 2001; Su, H. H., 2002; Wang, J. L. 2003; Chen et al., 2004).

CHINESE CULTURAL HEGEMONY

From the 1950s to the 1980s, when Taiwan was governed by a party-state dictatorship, there were two rationales behind the KMT government's cultural policy. One was to remove Japanese cultural legacy and the other was to affirm the ideology of 'Cultural China' (Tu, 1996) in Taiwan in an attempt to build up a collective identity fighting against the Chinese Communists. President Chiang Kai-Shek concluded the most important reason behind the Nationalists' defeat in the Chinese Civil War was the control of socio-cultural power that the Communists exploited. Therefore, culture was considered a significant element of social education to re-establish authority, and an extreme centralised cultural

retransformation came together with political, economical and social activities. For example, during the 1950s the development of culture and arts, including literature, were featured in campaigns to promote the ideas of anti-communism and fighting (Su, Z. Y., 2001; Tai, 2003). During the 1960s to 1970s, the KMT government launched the commission 'Renaissance of Chinese Culture' to claim the Republic of China as the authentic inheritor of traditional Chinese culture, especially against the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) led by Mao Zedong in Communist China (Su, Z. Y., 2001; Su, H. H., 2002). A special committee for the 'Renaissance of Chinese Culture' was set up in 1967. The claim of the genuine heir of Chinese culture and nation also indicated a replacement for Japan-influenced culture in Taiwan.

The ideological promotion of 'Cultural China' driven by political factors was evidently seen in the museum sector. In addition, despite the wartime political turbulence, the Nationalist government on mainland China saw the conservation of artefacts as the most important cultural action since the 1920s. The idea then remained at the centre of cultural strategies under the KMT rule in post-WWII Taiwan (Tai, 2003; Kuo, 2006). As the KMT government fled to Taiwan, many Chinese national treasures were also moved to Taiwan. These national treasures have been preserved in the collection of the world famous National Palace Museum, established in Taipei, since 1965. The National Palace Museum was regarded as the ultimate preserver of national treasures, which granted the Museum a supreme status within the governmental structure (Wang, 2004; Chang, 2006) - the case of the National Palace Museum is addressed in depth in Chapter Seven.

In other cases, the retransformation of culture was approached in different ways by which museums operated, such as new recruits, names, missions and display contents of museums (Hung, 2004). According to an interviewee in this study, in such a political climate, museum work functioning for Japanese colonialism, such as investigative work for Taiwan's natural history, ceased, though research was still one of the tasks in museums (Museum Manager A, 2009). Museums had to do their jobs differently from how they had operated under Japanese rule. The exhibitions in museums had been organised from diverse perspectives, which might not be related to the core of these museums, with themes such as 'anti-Communism' or 'resistance to Japan'.

As culture ran together with political authoritarian lines, cultural affairs were included in educational policy. In 1953 the legislation of the Social Education Act defined museums as social education institutions (CCA, 2007). Major public museums were established during the 1950s under the governance of the Ministry of Education, including the National Museum of History, the National Taiwan Science Education Center and the National Taiwan Arts Education Center. These museums mainly functioned as an expression of the central government's authority. An affiliated governmental body, the Office of Cultural Affairs, was established in 1967 under the Ministry of Education (Kuo, 2006). On the other hand, public museums that originated from Japanese administration were downgraded in the governmental structure (Hsu, 2003a). For example, the National Taiwan Museum was lay under the Taiwan Provincial government.²¹ The building of the National Taiwan Museum was one of the fortunate cases that survived from the decolonising action of tearing down Japanese symbolised buildings, but the themes of its exhibitions inevitably became multi-dimensional, e.g. exhibitions of agriculture, leather, or health education - the case of the National Taiwan Museum is detailed in Chapter Seven. By the late 1960s to the 1970s, the decolonising movement declined and exhibitions of Chinese paintings and calligraphy became popular.²²

CULTURAL, ETHNIC AND POLITICAL NATIONALISMS

Under the rule of a party-state dictatorship, the KMT government represented Chinese cultural hegemony in Taiwan and dominated cultural development for decades (Su, Z. Y., 2001; Su, H. H., 2002). While culture had become a political tool through education, it resulted in two phenomena: the Chinese culture superior to the native Taiwanese culture (which was compounded from a legacy of Japanese colonialism); central authoritarian disposition superior to localism. For instance, the Republic of China on Taiwan has a successful comprehensive educational system succeeding the Japanese educational system, in which

²¹ The Taiwan Provincial government was established in 1947 after the brutal 228 incident, in place of the military administration. After the central government of the Republic of China relocated to Taipei in 1949, the provincial government remained in position because the government of the Republic of China still claimed China's legitimacy. The provincial administration was streamlined in 1998.

²² Art exhibitions in the National Taiwan Museum – a museum of natural history – were also common during the Japanese colonial period.

improvement and popularisation of compulsory education has generally enhanced the standards of knowledge. However, education was advocated from a nationalistic viewpoint. Textbook contents in terms of 'domestic' history and geography emphasised mainland China. In other words, pupils and high school students were taught mostly about the history and geography of China but little about Taiwan itself until localism began growing in the 1990s. Consequently, the Chinese identity has been by force recreated and rooted in Taiwanese society (Huang, C. C. 2003; Liu and Huang, 2003).

Nevertheless, social oppression led to oppositional ideological activities which fostered the 'Taiwanese Consciousness' from Taiwan's individuality and the home rule to an independent and autonomous Taiwan which was not a province of China and whose future lay in the hands of native Taiwanese. 'Taiwanese nationalism' emerged in opposition to 'Chinese nationalism on Taiwan' under the KMT regime through the 1970s and 1980s, when the Republic of China was in a dilemma of international relations (Wang, J. L. 2003). In 1986 the first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was formed illegally²³ in Taiwan to counter the KMT. With the lifting of martial law and political reforms, the DPP gradually became a representative of native Taiwanese dedicated to enhancing the Taiwanese identity (Huang, C. C. 2003). Political liberalisation and democratisation began together with the emergence of localisation, in which local culture and history started to be promoted over the ideology of 'Cultural China'. Although cultural policy was not separate from educational policy until the late 1970s, cultural policy and construction from then on through the 1980s, including the establishment of local cultural centres and the foundation of the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), has driven cultural development after the 1990s as well as become significant to directions and settings of cultural policy in the following decades (Su, H. H., 2002; Tai, 2003; Kuo, 2006).

²³ Under martial law, KMT was the sole legal party in Taiwan's politics. The restriction was repealed in 1988 after the lifting of martial law in 1987.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

By the 1970s, through national projects of industrial development, Taiwan achieved prosperous economic growth, but culture remained dependent on educational policy until it was included in the scope of the Twelve Major Construction Projects in 1977. This was a turning point of cultural development followed by specific cultural policies, including the plan of *Establishing Local Cultural Centres* - the so-called 'local cultural centres' had libraries as the core, and museums, galleries or music halls as the supplement - as well as the programme of *Enhancing Cultural, Educational, and Entertainment Activities* (Su, H. H., 2002; Tai, 2003; Kuo, 2006). The central government directed funds with a focus on building cultural infrastructures nationally and locally (CCA, 2007).

The programme had several important recommendations, including the legislation of a Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, and emphasised once more the importance of establishing local cultural centres. It suggested a central department in charge of cultural affairs. As culture had always been included in educational policy, the starting point and focus of the policy maintained an educational dimension. The Ministry of Education was responsible for cultural affairs, e.g. theatre, museums and libraries, although the Office of Cultural Affairs under it was suddenly dissolved in 1973, and part of cultural affairs, including publishing and media, were involved in the remits of the Government Information Office, where the Speaker of the central government was based.

The CCA was formally founded in 1981, a cultural unit within the central government. However, as it began with a form of a committee, it was seen as a platform where deputy directors of the Ministries were appointed as members of the committee. It was not an executive body so had little public subsidy, few staff and acted as a coordinator and integrator within the central government regarding cultural planning. Its advisory role and small scale experienced little change for two decades (the institutional nature of the CCA in relation to cultural policy development and the governance of museums is further discussed in Chapter Six). This shows the fact that culture had never been a priority among public policies in Taiwan. Hence, regardless of the existence of the CCA, culture in practice had remained in the remits of different governing bodies (Kuo, 2006).

In law, the Ministry of Education continued as the main supervisory department for museum affairs until recent public reforms. That is to say, museums had continued to be seen as social education institutions and museum development had been still influenced directly by educational policy. For instance, during the 1980s, growing public interest affected by the economic importance of high-technology industries led to the advocacy of science education and the establishment of numerous national museums particularly for the subjects of science and technology (Chang, 2003).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MODERN TAIWAN

POLITICAL DEMOCRATISATION AND POLARISATION

The lifting of martial law in 1987, followed by the dissolution of restrictions on political parties and broadcast media, was a breaking point for the entire Taiwanese society in every aspect. Under the regime of President Lee Teng-Hui, liberalisation and democratisation of the political system continued through amending non-functional legacies, such as resign and re-election for parliamentary seats to replace representatives of original constituencies of mainland China, elected in 1947. In addition, Lee strongly supported the Taiwanese localisation movement in which Taiwan was turned into the centre where traditional Taiwanese culture and customs and the unique history of the island were emphasised. The shift gradually reversed the 'top-down' nature of social change. During the 1990s, native Taiwanese had increasing opportunities to serve in the public services sector or enter the centre of political circles, notably seen in local authorities. The KMT's internal power structure encountered challenges whereby its ultimate belief in authentic 'Chineseness' was influenced by social and cultural movement with Taiwan at the heart through a process from bottom to top, whereas the DPP supported the Taiwan independence movement and asserted a separate identity from China (Su, H. H., 2002; Wang, J. L. 2003). Social expectation of a full democracy in Taiwan was strong since the early 1990s, exemplified by the Wild Lily student movement. Inflamed by the missile threat from the People's Republic of China²⁴ in 1995 and

²⁴ China has placed hundreds of missiles aimed at Taiwan; this is known to be consistently increased by fifty missiles per year. By 2009 it was estimated that a total of nearly 1,400 missiles were targeted towards the island. In 1995 and 1996, China launched threatening

in 1996, referred to as the Third Taiwan Strait Crisis, President Lee Teng-Hui was elected by majority vote of Taiwan's population through the first direct presidential election, a remarkable democratic progress towards modern Taiwan. The Republic of China on Taiwan transformed into a genuine democratic state.

In 2000, the DPP candidate Chen Shui-Bian won the presidency of the Republic of China; KMT rule ended and power was peacefully transferred to non-KMT leadership for the first time. In 2004, Chen was re-elected to serve his second and last presidential term. During the rule of DPP led by Chen, the localisation movement had grown into "nativisation",²⁵ as Taiwanese nationalism was pursued over Chinese nationalism on Taiwan (Wang, J. L. 2003). A polarised political scene occurred with the formation of the Pan-Blue Coalition of parties led by the KMT, and the Pan-Green Coalition of parties led by the DPP. On the issue of relationship with the People's Republic of China, the Pan-Blue supported the concept of the Republic of China in favour of maintaining status quo to seek negotiation for democratic unification, while the Pan-Green believed Taiwan to be an independent sovereign country separate from China, and sought to advance Taiwan's independence in an international context. Economically, the Pan-Blue adopted an open position towards investment in and transportation links with mainland China, whereas the Pan-Green held a conservative view and a cautious approach to economic and other contact with China. The polarised politics in consequence intensified the separation of identities, which has become a significant issue to modern Taiwanese society.

THE IDENTITY CRISIS

After half a century of the KMT regime, the half century of Japanese rule is gradually fading among native Taiwanese, replaced by the ideology of 'Cultural China'. However, it is worth noting that due to political separation of the Chinese Communists on mainland China and the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan, Chinese culture has developed respectively on the two sides divided by the

missile tests in the Taiwan Strait, concerned the process of 'Taiwanisation' and democratisation would advance Taiwan's formal separation from China.

²⁵ 'Nativisation', according to Wang, J. L. (2003), describes the process of strengthening the ideology of the natives of independent Taiwan, moving from a local perspective to a national point of view.

Taiwan Strait. Despite Chinese culture in Taiwan having its origin in mainland China, under the Nationalist political system and through the evolution of the native Taiwanese society, the Chinese identity in the Republic of China on Taiwan was recreated on a non-Communist or anti-Communist basis. For part of the populace in Taiwan, a Chinese identity has been to a large extent formed through the KMT's nationalistic education and the imagination of their Chinese ancestral origins. After the ban on communication with mainland China dissolved in the late 1980s, mainlanders in Taiwan and native Taiwanese finally had a chance to reconnect with their 'motherland' - a term used mostly during the Japanese colonial period, or to understand the KMT's concept of 'Cultural China' - but in one way or another discovered 'China' was not the same as what they remembered or had learnt, mostly through the nationalistic education. To some extent, there are cultural differences between Chinese-based societies in Taiwan and China. Certainly, Taiwan is the home of most of the populace; even the mainlanders have to some extent come round to the thinking of Taiwan as a permanent residence rather than a temporary home since the Republic of China on Taiwan has been the reality for decades.

On the other hand, through democratisation and the DPP government's advocacy in favour of claiming Taiwan's independence, the concept of Taiwanese identity is no longer an underground ideology but has been pulled to the surface in opposition to Chinese identity in Taiwan. In contrast to the Chinese Nationalist ideology, the logic of pro-independence Taiwanese politicians, activists and supporters often puts an emphasis on the unique history that is native to the island. In this regard, Taiwan is acknowledged to have been governed by different powers ruling from outside Taiwan, including Spain, the Netherlands, the Ming's Kingdom of Tungning, the Qing government, the Japanese colonial government and the Chinese Nationalist government.

Furthermore, politics has been a dominant force for cultural development in Taiwan. It is hard to ignore the cause of political ideology for the development of cultural policy and the cultural sector. With respect to identity issues, the ownership of culture became a controversial subject in public debate, especially during the DPP administration (Wang, 2004). The DPP's members made several contentious arguments over culture, marked as intentional actions of "de-Chinaising" and "Taiwanising" (Chang, 2006, p. 68). For example, the ownership

of the National Palace Museum's collection was questioned, concerning the Museum's history, and, more extremely, symbols of the former dictator Chiang Kai-Shek were extensively removed in early 2007, without concern for their historical and cultural meanings. Being described as a 'cultural revolution', these actions were essentially political; nevertheless, they aroused and polarised public opinion on a non-Chinese Taiwanese identity (Economist, 2007).

The struggles between political or national identities and cultural identities remain. The democratisation of politics allows multiple viewpoints within Taiwanese society but the dominant political power and its cultural ideology also greatly influence governmental policies and cultural development. Indeed, the mainlanders and later generations gradually integrated into the native Taiwanese society, and the DPP's presidential victory implied the growth of 'Taiwanese Consciousness'. The concept of sovereign Taiwan was no longer an exclusive thought to people who supported Taiwan's formal independence, but also shared by those who acknowledged the Republic of China on Taiwan. In spite of distinctive political recognitions, all prospects now are in Taiwan's (or the Republic of China on Taiwan's) favour as regards the best interests of the citizens of Taiwan and the country - a result of Taiwanisation since the political reform of the late 1980s.

MULTICULTURALISM AND CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

Polarised politics has brought the identity crisis within Taiwanese society to the surface. It is recognised that Taiwan nowadays, with a population of over twenty-three million, is a multi-ethnic and multilingual society. Also responding to globalisation, the localisation movement continues highlighting native culture and the history of Taiwan. Meanwhile, since there is a concern for Hoklo culture being excessively emphasised in the development of Taiwanese nationalism, given that the Hoklo Taiwanese are the majority of Taiwan's population, cultural diversity has been urged to prevent an imbalance of cultural representations. The notion of multiculturalism has been emphasised as a solution to reduce the tension of the dualism between Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism by means of incorporating Hoklo culture with various cultures of the mainlanders

and ethnic minorities, e.g. Hakka Taiwanese and Aborigines, into policy concerns (Tai, 2003).

In the Museum Directors Forum 2005, entitled *Museums, Communities, and Cultural Diversity*, the Director of the National Museum of History at the time, Huang Yung-Chuan, gave an account of the museum's strategies corresponding to the multicultural viewpoint:

The National Museum of History was one of the most important stages to promote 'Renaissance of Chinese Culture' when the Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China led to movements of cultural treasures from China to abroad. The Chinese cultural assets had been once a major collection in the National Museum of History. In consideration of cultural diversity, the Chinese collection is undoubtedly a contribution to the museum. [...] It as well involves native culture including Taiwanese indigenous groups whose origins are recognised as Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family. Since the Han culture has moved into Taiwan, both aboriginal and immigrants' cultures have to be treated equally. Therefore the Museum actively reviews its collection and aims for presenting cultural diversity of the island. (Huang, 2005, p. 68)

However, the tendency of multiculturalism in museums also implies a way in which museums have responded to uncertain political changes over decades. For example, according to one interviewee (Museum Manager A, 2009), the National Museum of History, in possession of a Chinese collection, had been a major museum focusing on Chinese history and culture since its establishment under the KMT's party-state dictatorship in the 1950s. With political reforms, the collection has expanded and Taiwanese folk objects have been included. 'History' is no doubt the Museum's main subject - as its name particularly indicates - yet 'history' has been interpreted on an object basis rather than along the lines of the discourse of 'national history'. The interviewee commented, "In such a changing political climate, 'history' becomes a sensitive subject" (Museum Manager A, 2009).

Accompanying the concept of multiculturalism, the notion of cultural citizenship had been advocated, particularly during 2004 and 2005. It followed the policy of community building and occurred with the promotion of the cultural and creative industries - both are significant issues in Taiwan's cultural policy development, and are addressed subsequently. Thereby, cultural citizenship was

encouraged through an action plan of *Citizen Aesthetics* and the concepts of creative diversity and participation were emphasised.

From multiculturalism to cultural citizenship, it seemed to be a short-term policy objective; however, the call for cultural diversity in fact appears to be aligned with the localisation movement. In the process of Taiwanisation, the previously dominant Chinese culture, representing the mainlanders, has been balanced with the Hoklo Taiwanese culture, representing the majority of the population, while the cultures of Hakka Taiwanese and Aborigine minority have also been given increased attention to alongside the mainstream. In particular, the process of redeveloping aboriginal cultures has been long and difficult, since indigenous cultures to some extent have been lost or assimilated into a Han Chinese majority society. The first formal sign of this effort was officially changing the discriminating phrase 'shan-bao' (mountain nationality), used to categorise all Aborigines, to 'yuan-chu-min' (original inhabitants) in 1994, and continued by supporting the redevelopment of aboriginal cultural traditions. The advocacy of multiculturalism and cultural citizenship in recent years certainly was to re-emphasise cultural diversity within Taiwanese society and cultural equality of citizens despite ethnic differences. On the one hand it was concerned with ethnic conflicts under the DPP administration; on the other hand, it appeared to be an approach to decrease KMT's Chinese cultural hegemony. The political implication of cultural policy is noticeably reflected in the tendency of periodic issues of cultural policy in relation to the reappointments of the leaders of the CCA.

LEADERSHIP AND CULTURAL POLICY

The CCA, founded in 1981, has played an advisory role in developing cultural policy. The chairperson of the CCA is appointed by the Premier²⁶ and is also a member of Cabinet. The appointment and reappointment of the chairperson is usually parallel to a shift in a specified cultural policy. This phenomenon was particularly obvious during the DPP administration. In the eight years (May 2000–May 2008) of DPP rule, due to frequent Cabinet reassignments five people served

²⁶ The Premier is the head of the Executive Yuan – the highest administrative office of the central government.

as the chairperson for different durations. Resulting from the frequent changes of the chairperson in the past few years, new policies were periodically developed and carried out because “each chairperson has his or her own professional background and interest and would have a specific focus on the advocacy of certain areas” (Department Deputy Director of the CCA, 2009). For example, the cultural and creative industries policy begun in 2002 was noted as an effort made during chairperson Chen Yu-Hsiu’s term (May 2000-May 2004). However, it was stated that the main direction of cultural policy development has seen minor changes in response to domestic and global trends, and some initiatives have been followed for years, such as the *Museums of Local Culture* campaign on the concept of repurposing unused spaces, which was also initiated during Chen’s term. Also, cultural citizenship was a focus during the chairing of Chen Chi-Nan (May 2004-January 2006). Although cultural citizenship is no longer emphasised in policy at present, the CCA continues the undertaking of *Citizen Aesthetics* in combination with a new programme of *Living Aesthetics Movement*.

It is then seen that cultural policy development in modern Taiwan can be comprehended by both long-term and short-term policies. New policies may derive from the ideology and setting of old policies. It is mentioned that policies for cultural heritage and community building have always been at the heart of the CCA’s mission. In addition, trendy cultural and creative industries became another focus for long-term development. If taking into account the CCA’s recent leadership (May 2008-November 2009),²⁷ the areas of literature and museums set the agenda in cultural policy, yet the CCA is still in a very early stage to embark on museum policy development. Although the legislation of a Museum Act, which has been pursued on and off for decades, was said to be a major task for the CCA since 2008 - the year that the KMT returned to power - there has been no breakthrough up to the present time for discussion in the research. Hence, in the next section, issues in relation to museums are discussed in the policy context of cultural heritage, community building, and the cultural and creative industries.

²⁷ At the time of research, the chairperson of the CCA was Huang Pi-Twan (20/05/2008-15/11/2009) who has a background in literature and education, and one of the two deputy Ministers then was Chang Yui-Tan, a museum professional. Both resigned in November 2009.

MUSEUMS IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL POLICY

THE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

PRESERVING THE PAST

As conservation was central to the Chinese Nationalist government's cultural strategy in China, and then Taiwan, the CCA, founded in 1981, inherited the preceding concept of conservation and paid attention to the so-called 'wen-hua zi-chan', which can be translated as 'cultural assets', and is similar to the literal sense of 'cultural heritage' or 'cultural patrimony' (Wang, 2004). The legislation of a Cultural Heritage Preservation Act became a priority in the beginning of cultural policy development under the CCA. The Act was first passed in 1982, with several amendments in the following years. The CCA has been dedicated to the cultural heritage sector. Its work on tangible and intangible heritage - mostly on historic buildings - has focused on refurbishment, maintenance and identifying examination, but this has been an uneasy process. Over the last two decades cultural heritage was within the remits of government departments other than the CCA - as indicated before, the CCA was only a platform organisation. Regarding cultural heritage, the Ministry of the Interior had the authority to give official identification to a heritage site, though the investigative process was undertaken by the CCA. Artefacts and ethnographic objects were guarded by the Ministry of Education - unsurprisingly, since museums, the institutions caring for artefacts and ethnographic objects, were legally governed by the Ministry of Education. Natural and cultural landscape was the responsibility of the Ministry of Economic Affairs; the responsibility was transferred to the Council of Agriculture in 1985. Each department had its own specific regulations, concerns, priorities and approaches, which made consensus hard to reach, and the intention of the Act backfired. Finally, the amendment of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of 2005 affirmed that the CCA became the ultimate regulator for cultural heritage, historic buildings and listed sites.

Museums in the Act's terms are institutions that safeguard antiquities (Laws and Regulations Database, 2005). The primary task for museums at the moment, according to the Act, is to engage in the categorisation of antiquities - a system

that designates each object by its tangible and intangible value and scarcity and categorises it into National Treasures, Significant Antiquities or Ordinary Antiquities. This requires museums to carry out a survey of their collection at first, and report to the central authority directly or indirectly through local counterparts. Since the central authority is now the CCA, its representatives subsequently review the registered antiquities to complete the process of designation. Hence the relationship between most national museums and the CCA is bound by the Act, while many of them remain subordinate to the Ministry of Education; the National Palace Museum is an exception as a ministerial-level institution. This categorising system is currently seen as the foundation for future cultural planning regarding museums in a heritage context.

CREATING THE FUTURE

There is another method of implementation relating to museums that links cultural heritage from the past to cultural development at present and for the future. In addition to amendments of the Act and the associated initiatives with the Act, 'repurposing vacant space' has been an important method to achieve the aim of heritage conservation in recent years. The principle is to transform a heritage site by either restoring its original function in a modern way, or applying new functions to it concerning its history. The concept in one way is to preserve the heritage, and in the other way to encourage participation in the heritage environment. It has been advocated especially after the Ji Ji earthquake in 1999,²⁸ which devastated the natural and cultural environment of Taiwan. For example, the Taipei Story House, opened in 2003, is considered a successful model of such a heritage conservation approach - the case of the Taipei Story House is demonstrated in detail in Chapter Seven.

The CCA's approach to heritage conservation at national and local levels is not only to preserve a historic incident and site, or a natural and cultural landscape, but to consider culture as a key aspect of local development strategies regarding

²⁸ Prior to 1999, cultural heritage at local level had to be managed and maintained by local governments, and only private possession could be managed by personal owners or authorised managers. The Ji Ji earthquake urged the government to amend the Act so that cultural heritage could be managed by a subordinate body to a local government, a natural person or a corporation for public profit. All had to be authorised by the authorities responsible for cultural heritage.

urban and rural planning. Therefore, the CCA intends to incorporate the concept of cultural heritage conservation with the concept of community building. In this way, cultural heritage is regarded as the core of community building, and the conservation of cultural heritage becomes a community-based movement. The convergence of these two concepts can be clearly seen in the campaign of *Museums of Local Culture*, where the notion of creative economy is additionally taken into account.

COMMUNITY-ORIENTED CULTURAL POLICY

One of the most significant dimensions of Taiwan's cultural policy is community building. It is acknowledged that this development is associated with the localisation movement since the 1980s, which led to a degree of decentralisation of cultural policy. The *Community Infrastructure Establishment* programme launched in 1994 is the matrix of the practice in community development and empowerment. Since the CCA is the initiator of the programme, its starting point is concerned with local autonomy, community participation and citizenship in a cultural context. The programme has evolved into a multi-dimensional policy which incorporates the needs and resources of different departments, including the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, the Council of Agriculture, the Council of Labor Affairs and some independent organisations. It is recognised that different resources available to the programme have led to an inevitable influence on community autonomy and its decision-making process. On the other hand, it is also evidenced that the programme has had great impact on community development in urban and rural areas. The programme, hence, provides the fundamental ideology and setting for local implementation of public policy. For example, the practice of community building has been combined with the promotion of local cultural industries and tourism development (Lu, 2002; Wu, 2002; Tai, 2003).

It can be seen that the CCA has a background of developing locally-oriented cultural policy. The CCA has always been the most important supporter of local cultural development. The conception process of the campaign of *Museums of Local Culture* illustrates how different strands of cultural policy converge, and how the community building programme drives the development of local

museums. The concept of the *Museums of Local Culture* originates from the infrastructure of local cultural centres (Hsu, 2003b; Jie, 2006). By the late 1980s, the idea of connecting local cultural centres with locally characteristic industries, e.g. agriculture and handcraft, was suggested, and some experimental projects were conducted. With the launch of the *Community Infrastructure Establishment* programme, local cultural centres were promoted especially for the use of exhibitions or performances. The museum concept of collection, conservation and display was advocated through staff and volunteer training. Later, the idea applied to local cultural centres was connected with the 'repurposing vacant space' method. Based on local culture and history, historic buildings were renewed and re-functioned as cultural venues to preserve and present tradition, while some vacant spaces, such as old sugar, salt or liquor factories, were turned into cultural and creative quarters, called 'Cultural Parks' (CCA, 2004a). Furthermore, the *New Hometown Community Development* programme of the *Challenge 2008: National Development Plan* (2000-2007) was launched in an attempt to revitalise community culture. It promotes an idea of community-oriented administration. At the same time, the previous efforts were put together into the *Museums of Local Culture* campaign with two aims: improving hard and soft infrastructure of local museums as well as building balanced and equal cultural life circles containing diverse cultural characteristics and integrated cultural resource (CCA, 2002, 2008; Lu, 2002; Wu, 2002). The CCA planned to achieve a target of 300 locally-themed museums by 2008 through providing consultancy services to local authorities and a large public investment with a budget over NT\$²⁹2.5 billion³⁰ in the first phase (2002-2007), and carrying out further development projects with funding of NT\$3 billion³¹ in the second phase (2008-2013). The idea of *Museums of Local Culture* based on the mechanism of community building has developed from the concept of heritage conservation towards a scope of local economy emphasising the development of local industries and cultural tourism. As local as a township where a museum of local culture is situated, this campaign has directly channelled central government's cultural policy and support to communities and subsequently transformed local museum scenes. Hence, museums at local level

²⁹ NT\$ is the abbreviation of New Taiwan dollar, the official currency of Taiwan (Republic of China).

³⁰ This is equivalent to £42 million according to an average historical exchange rate in the period.

³¹ This is equivalent to £57 million according to an average exchange rate during 2008 and 2010.

are regarded as agents for local regeneration which contribute to local cultural industries (Slater, 2006).

DIGITISATION AND THE CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

The local cultural industries, developed through community-building mechanisms and advocated by the *Museums of Local Culture*, centre on community traditions and customs. One or several signature industries are promoted, and 'culture' is widely defined in local terms ranging from certain agricultural produce such as tea, fruit, rice and herbs, to traditional handcrafts such as aboriginal knitting, paper umbrellas, ceramics and porcelains, glass, bamboo products and wooden artefacts. In addition to the making of cultural products, in some cases 'culture' is an ideology that is realised through acting on it. For example, tribalism in mutual dependency with nature leads to the protection of a river and its disappearing creatures. Hence, local cultural industries embody various local themes of significance, including biological environment, living style, knowledge of production and attitudes towards life - basically all kinds of human activities and the context within which these activities take place. Creativity is essential to develop or redevelop these small-scale cultural industries representing the past and the present as well as creating the future. However, speaking of the cultural and creative industries policy, these locally-oriented industries are not the core, even though they are incorporated within the cultural and creative industries concept, and at some level they serve an economic purpose as well. This is because fundamentally the role of local cultural industries is to encourage community engagement as shown previously; comparatively, the national policy for developing the cultural and creative industries is motivated by a shift towards a knowledge-based economy.

TECHNOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC OR CULTURAL AGENDA?

It was noted that high-tech industries have been regarded as important to the national economy since the 1980s, while manufacturing industries, which boosted Taiwan's 'economic miracle' in the 1970s and 1980s, faced rising competition from China and countries of South East Asia. In the late 1990s, several national digitisation projects were initiated, together with the growing flow of knowledge economy in the information age. Meanwhile, new ideas were

sought to modernise the traditional manufacturing industries and boost the national economy. It was then that the concept of cultural and creative industries began to be recognised in Taiwan through international exchange. However, it was not until the beginning of the twenty-first century, when the *Challenge 2008: National Development Plan* was announced, that the cultural and creative industries developed into a specific area of national cultural strategy (CCA, 2004a). The development of the cultural and creative industries was one of the main economic strategies that the DPP government proposed in response to a need for industrial transformation. Alongside the high-tech industries, the DPP government referenced the North European, British and Japanese models of creative industries and sought to develop industries with creativity and design at their heart as Taiwan's economic strength in global markets. These industries were categorised as three: fine arts, applied arts and design, and creative-arts-related supporting industries (Jie, 2006). The cultural and creative industries were later defined in the plan of *The Development of the Cultural Creative Industries* (2002) as those based on individual creativity, skills and the accumulation of culture, having the potential to create wealth and employment and improve the quality of life through developing and exploiting intellectual property. They included thirteen industries: Visual Arts; Music and Performing Arts; Cultural Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances; Crafts; Film; Television and Broadcast; Publishing; Advertising; Design; Digital Recreation and Entertainment; Fashion Design; Architecture; and Creative Living. These thirteen industries, however, fell to the remits of different departments. The CCA were responsible for the Visual Arts, Music and Performing Arts, Cultural Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances, and Crafts. In this case, museums were identified as the Cultural Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances with a focus on their supporting role in developing creative arts.

The concept of cultural and creative industries marked a significant shift in the direction of Taiwan's cultural policy thinking. Meanwhile, another developmental concept of the digital content industries has been considerably advocated side by side. These two concepts can be distinguished by the emphasis of the digitisation of the contents, products and distributions. However, some areas in these two concepts are interlinked. For example, the launching of several national digitisation projects since the late 1990s was not only a starting

point for the National Palace Museum to develop digital contents but became a basis of the Museum to adjust into a new operational context in terms of creative economy - the Museum's creative economic model is further illustrated in Chapter Seven. To some extent it led to overlapping resources, and it was debated that a combination of policy for the two concepts should be pursued. In such a policy climate, transformation is happening: activities that lie in the context of culture, creativity and innovation become central to economic development.

Nevertheless, despite museums being involved in the industry of 'Cultural Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances', in practice they had been relatively little focused in the projects of developing the cultural and creative industries. Instead, the CCA's effort in this respect had been on the development of creative talent and the setup of the aforementioned cultural and creative quarters based on industrial heritage. In addition, the legislation of the Act for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries, which was formerly a remit of the Ministry of Economic Affairs under the DPP rule, became a new task for the CCA. This legislation was one of the objectives declared in the manifesto³² of the incumbent President Ma Ying-Jeou of KMT, who won the presidential election of 2008 after KMT's overwhelming victory in the parliamentary elections held on 12 January, 2008. The Act passed in January 2010 redefines the category of 'Cultural Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances' as 'Cultural Heritage Applications and Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances' and replaces 'Digital Recreation and Entertainment' with 'Digital Content', while the whole scope of the cultural and creative industries is revised to sixteen industries by adding Visual Communication Design, Popular Music and Cultural Content, and Others (depending on further agreement between responsible authorities and the CCA). In this way, cultural heritage has been officially recognised within the scope of the cultural and creative industries in law. Although it is still too early to evaluate the policy at the moment, it would be interesting for future research to see how the areas of cultural heritage and creative industries would work together and how this affects the museum sector.

³² See <http://www.ma19.net/>

Overall, the three policy strands addressed above (cultural heritage, community building, and cultural and creative industries) are to some extent related to the museum sector in practice, even though museums are not directly referred to in these policies. Also, as noted previously, the responsibility for the legislation of the Museum Act was transferred to the CCA in 2003, and a small part of museum governance has been included in the remit of the CCA. It appears that museums have started to be the main subject of policy thinking. Hence, to understand future policy development with regard to museums, these different but relevant strands must be considered together within the cultural policy context.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has placed the analysis of cultural policy and museums in Taiwan in a historical context. The historical circumstances outlined here have provided clues about the factors in the course of museum development which aid in the insight of contemporary cultural policy issues regarding museums in Taiwan.

It has been shown that culture has been politically manipulated especially at national level. Its colonial past is essential to the understanding of modern Taiwanese society. In addition to cultural legacies of different colonial rules, the Japanese occupation in particular brought long-lasting influence on Taiwan in terms of modernisation as well as the development of Taiwanese nationalism, where the individuality of Taiwan has since been increasingly perceived. On the other hand, the KMT reign of Chiang's dictatorship, along with the large Chinese immigration by that time, transformed Taiwan once more. The Nationalist government's attempt to wipe out the Japanese legacy and oppose Communism resulted in Chinese cultural hegemony and implanted Chinese nationalism in the society. As the Taiwan-centric consciousness was further strengthened in the process of localisation through the 1990s and during the eight-year rule of the DPP (where localism turned into a Taiwanese nationalist movement), the polarised politics caused the dualistic dilemma of Taiwanese and Chinese nationalisms, and an identity crisis rose to the surface and remains today. Alternatively, the idea of Taiwan as a multicultural society, supposing that culture on the island with different origins should deserve equal considerations, has been advocated in recent years.

Political experiences are also reflected in the development of Taiwan's museum sector. Museums were established and operated to serve a political, economic or social purpose for the government at one time. From Japanese rule to the KMT government until the late 1990s, museums have been regarded as social education institutions. This implies that museums were used as political tools of social governance through education. Following the localisation movement and the democratisation and liberalisation of politics, local culture and community-based infrastructure began to shape a new direction of cultural policy. As a result, the politically dominant situation has by degrees transformed in the last decade, with the progress of cultural policy concerning heritage, community and creativity. The cultural heritage and community building policies especially have driven museum development at local level. However, the history of political manipulation has resulted in sensitiveness about 'national' cultural representations in contemporary museum practice. Since multiculturalism has been pursued to reduce the tension within society, the discussion in Chapter Two about the role of museums in mediating the process of improving equal opportunities and encouraging dialogue on the subject of cultural differences seems to be relevant to monitoring the development of cultural policy and the democratisation of museums in Taiwan.

In fact, museums have not been fully acknowledged as cultural institutions in law, shown by the fact that policy-making centring on the sector has just begun. The position of museums is an issue today; this has to be addressed within the context of public reform in the meantime, which deals with the division of responsibilities for culture and coordination between different governing bodies. The new KMT government's effort also focuses on continuing the restructuring of the central administrative system, including the setup of a unified Ministry of Culture and Tourism - according to the manifesto. It is important to look at how this reform process has had influence on and will cause any further change to the museum sector and the making of museum policy. To understand this, governance structures and new public management models with respect to museums are deliberated in Chapter Six.

Overall, this chapter has shown the great relevance of political ideologies and societal changes to the development of cultural policy and museums in Taiwan. It is clear that contemporary issues of a nation can be understood through the

historical dimension of investigation. The following chapter explores Scotland's historical context to understand interrelating factors in the process of change and issues concerning Scotland's cultural policy for museums.

Chapter Five :

MUSEUM AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN SCOTLAND

This chapter presents a historical context of political, economic and social conditions in Scotland within the UK category in relation to the development of cultural policy and museums. In contrast to a colonial history in Taiwan, Scotland has its roots in the Kingdom of Scotland (843-1707) and shares a history with most Western countries in terms of democratisation, religious reformation, economic expansion and knowledge development. A historic chapter was turned by the merging of the parliament of Scotland and the parliament of England to create a new parliament of Great Britain under the Act of Union in 1707. As part of imperial Britain's force in colonial areas of the world, Scots embraced the benefits of the British state, and a unionist nationalist attitude became popular through the second half of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Scottish people shared a culture with people from the rest of Britain, and contributed to the formation of 'Britishness'. Yet it is also recognised that a degree of cultural and institutional autonomy was retained in Scotland, contributing to the development of Scottish civil society within the body of Britain and a dual identity for Scots as British and Scottish. While Scotland's cultural differences were maintained in a unionist political environment, Scottish nationalism in a political dimension was gradually developed and blended with the attempt to encourage autonomous cultural development in Scotland in the twentieth century, where the individuality of Scotland within the general UK structures was emphasised. As a result of the division of political interest of Scotland and the rest of Britain since the 1980s, the call for Home Rule by Scotland during the 1990s led to Scottish devolution through the creation of a new Scottish parliament in modern times. Thereafter, Scotland and its relation with Britain turned to the next chapter.

This chapter begins with a brief outline of philosophical developments in relation to the museum sector in unionist Scotland within the British state, from the union of Scotland with England in 1707 through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the end of the Second World War. It continues on the transformation in the UK during the post-WWII period through the 1980s, focusing on the effect of the New Right on cultural policy and museum

governance while distinguishing Scotland as regards its different political tendency. Then it moves on to the 1990s and beyond, emphasising the breakthrough of the New Labour administration before exploring Scottish national cultural strategy and policy development in terms of Scotland's museum sector after devolution, eventually pointing to the different approach adopted by the current government led by the Scottish National Party (SNP, 2007-present).

SCOTLAND BEFORE 1945

THE UNION OF SCOTLAND WITH ENGLAND

BECOMING BRITISH

The union of Scotland and England to form the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707 was based on different motives that provided advantages for both sides. The instrumental arrangement of the union is believed to have been primarily for economic purposes for Scotland, i.e. economic difficulties resulted from agricultural disaster, economic failure on the North American colony, wars and battles throughout the seventeenth century, and the loss of trading opportunities after the Reformation in France - Scotland's old ally. Scotland recognised the military power and legal threat³³ of England, which is seen as the second motive for the union, and chose to create alliance with this power. In parallel, England eased the tensions from the Jacobite's movements in opposition to the Protestant-Hanoverian succession and achieved a peaceful status on the northern border. After all, the new parliament of Great Britain was formed in London, although the monarch had considerable influence over the new parliament through the end of the eighteenth century. By the Act of Union, in principle, Scotland kept its traditional institutions of the law, the church and education (Mitchison, 1982; Gardiner, 2005).

In the early years of the union, the Jacobite movements since the late seventeenth century had continued on patriotic rebellions, but faded out and

³³ English military forces gathered in South West Scotland, and the English Parliament passed the Alien Act, threatening the rights of Scottish residents in England to push forward negotiating a political union.

were eliminated by 1745. For the prevention of activism against the union, the Disarming Act of 1746 was passed to remove armed forces and also Scottish symbols, e.g. a ban on wearing tartans, reflecting an Anglo-centrism of the British union. The ban on wearing tartans was lifted by 1782, implying that the signs of Scottishness in relation to Scottish independence were no longer the British government's concern. In parallel, from the 1740s onwards, rapid economic growth, particularly in Glasgow and Edinburgh through colonial investments in North America and via the British East India Company, were seen by Scots as benefits of the British union. In the meantime, Western Europe had been through an intellectual movement called the Age of Enlightenment, emphasising critical justification of established traditions. The Enlightenment embedded ideas of humanism and rationalism and had an immense impact on political and social movements in the nineteenth and twentieth century, such as the development of radicalism and liberalism. The Scottish Enlightenment - the period traditionally identified as the time between the 1740s through the 1790s - especially paid attention to the human capability of justifying by reason to improve and benefit both individuals and society as a whole. The movements of Scottish Enlightenment showed the desire of the Scottish to connect to the heart of British culture, seen in examples such as the imposition of Standard English and the appearance of 'English Literature' as a major subject in Scotland's higher education. 'Scottishness' was retained as the essential self within the context of Britain. This is recognised as unionist nationalism where Scotland built up its confidence in the partnership with England to contribute to the British Empire. It appeared a cultural duality where Scottish identity had evolved in a British form through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Finlay, 1998; Gardiner, 2005).

THE ORIGIN OF MUSEUMS

Museum development in Britain originated from academic and collecting activities dating back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mostly in private form (Walsh, 1992). The first English Society of Antiquaries was established in London in 1572, with museum functions of collection, conservation and historical studies. The major collection was royal artefacts, such as jewellery, currencies and portraits. Not until the late seventeenth century did museums begin to be seen as a public service and not until the nineteenth century did their public

role actually develop (Walsh, 1992). The first public museum in England was the Ashmolean, opened in 1683 and housing a collection given by Elias Ashmole to the University of Oxford in 1677. In 1753 the British Museum was established by an Act of Parliament aiming to enhance communication and knowledge development. Likewise, museums in Scotland are also rooted in antiquarianism, and the desire for knowledge of the world during the Enlightenment period brought about a rapid growth of museums (Gardiner, 2005). The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland was formed privately in 1781 (instituted nationally in 1851 and now included in the National Museums of Scotland). Scotland's first public museum was the Hunterian, opened in Glasgow in 1807, featuring extensive displays of the collection bequeathed by the Scottish anatomist and scientist Dr William Hunter in 1783 to the University of Glasgow. The collection was broadly sourced over Europe for archaeological objects such as coins, paintings and books, as well as scientific contents including biological specimens, insects and Dr William Hunter's own medical work. As the collection has continuously grown over time, the Hunterian now possesses significant national assets for modern Scotland, including work by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and James McNeill Whistler (MGC, 1986) - the case of the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery is studied in Chapter Seven. In general, the early development of modern museums in Britain was connected to philosophical movements in the process of modernisation. As scientific discoveries and engineering inventions developed during the Enlightenment contributed to the Industrial Revolution beginning in the late eighteenth century, museums of natural history and science became mainstream. Academic elites, such as doctors and scientists, held a central position of leading museum development. Therefore, the Industrial Revolution fostered a museum scene dependent on industrial achievements.

POLITICAL REFORM AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Industrial Revolution transformed Scotland's economic landscape greatly through the nineteenth century. In the meantime, Scots were actively involved in the British Empire's colonial activities. Scottish culture was exported to colonies, e.g. Australia and New Zealand, and so was Scottish British imperial cruelty. The Empire brought Glasgow's prosperity, based on colonial industries

of tobacco, sugar and linen, and on slavery from the mid-eighteenth century. With the growing workforce from the Highlands and Ireland, Glasgow became the major city of the engineering industries for the Empire, particularly in shipbuilding. Its population grew extensively during the nineteenth century and was largely structured by the working class and the middle class. Scotland's wealth at that time contributed to the continuation of Scottish unionism until the inter-war time of the 1920s and 1930s. On the other hand, the Highland 'clearances', which refers to the act of evicting small tenants (crofters) by landowners from around the 1760s to a century later, led to large-scale emigration of Highlanders and, to an extent, a fading away of the crofting lifestyle. The emigration of Highlanders to Canada, the US, Australia or New Zealand, in search of a more acceptable standard of living, was prompted further by the 1846 potato crop failure and the 1848 cholera outbreak (Mitchison, 1982; Gardiner, 2005).

In a socio-political dimension, the Enlightenment featured in radical demands for public reforms over the nineteenth century in the UK. Reflecting on the French Revolution of 1789, the radical movement in Scotland was urged by interests of the growing middle class and social dislocation resulting from industrialisation and rapid urbanisation, which worsened cultural differences between urban and rural areas (Mitchison, 1982; Gardiner, 2005). An electoral reform was achieved by the Reform Act of 1832. By the Act, corrupt and unrepresentative boroughs were abolished and systems of franchise were modified and specifically granted to large cities, which was regarded as an emergence of Scottish politics (Harvie, 1998). For example, Glasgow, where labour-intensive rallies of violence were provoked in Clydeside in 1820, known as the Radical War (Mitchison, 1982), had its own Member of Parliament for the first time. In addition to representatives of the middle class enfranchised by the Act, the major aristocratic Whigs in the House of Commons involved a small number of parliamentary Radicals on behalf of the working class, and later became the constitution of the Liberal Party (officially formed in 1859). The radical movement continued according to the political and social interests of the working class and provoked Chartism between 1838 and 1848, mostly in England but also in Scotland, which demanded equal voting and improved standards of living for the working class. The radicalism became the ground for the development of liberalism. Liberalism in

relation to free trading regarding British imperialism reached its highest popularity from the 1880s to the 1920s.

Influenced by the Irish nationalist movement, Scottish nationalism, including the unrest in the Highlands, had been driven by social needs and had developed since the 1850s in opposition to centralisation of the British government and in support of Scottish home rule. It was rooted in a belief that the Scottish administration would be able to claim advantages for Scotland. Scottish nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century was self-confident in dedication to equal status as a partner with England rather than advocating independence. Following the Reform Act of 1884, the Scottish Office was established in London in 1885 as the distinctive representative of Scottish rights in terms of social policy, education, laws and local governments, which eased off this wave of Scottish nationalism. Apart from that, unionist nationalism was still mainstream in the nineteenth century. For example, Scottish heroes such as William Wallace - a heroic figure in the nationalist movements of the medieval War of Independence - were portrayed in “a way of showing national pride while remaining politically Unionist” (Gardiner, 2005, p. 169), and the establishment of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1889 reflected an environment that demanded the cult of national heroes.

In addition, the advance of communication and transport within Britain since the Industrial Revolution had strengthened the formation of ‘Britishness’. Steam railways were built connecting Glasgow, Edinburgh and England by the late 1840s. Scots, including artists and writers, moved to London, where they pursued opportunities and experienced diverse foreign cultures, e.g. European and Asian, which came along with the large immigration at that time. A trend of spending holidays in Scotland from England grew, resulting from the enhanced accessibility as well as Queen Victoria’s frequent travels to Scotland with Prince Albert, and her settlement there for a time after Prince Albert’s death. Although it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that tourism policy really developed in Britain, the development of tourism also encouraged the exploitation of Scottish iconography such as tartanry. It was then the commercialising of culture and heritage began, which somewhat contributed to the endurance of the Scottish difference within the UK, having an ambiguous effect on Scottish political and cultural scenes up to the present time (McCrone,

Morris and Kiely, 1995). As leisure became popular, entertainment for the working class and middle class were widely expanded until the economic depression of the 1920s, which became a concern when the role of museums was considered after the mid-nineteenth century.

LIBERALISM AND THE RATIONAL VIEW OF MUSEUMS IN BRITAIN

It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the number of museums started to grow. In the reform process of the nineteenth century, the modern form of public museums emerged and developed in response to societal developments such as industrialisation, urbanisation, the development of local government and the advocacy of social education (Walsh, 1992). As a demand for parliamentary reform appeared, the focus of museums had gradually extended from antiquarianism and academics to broader social demonstration. From then on, the public role of museums truly developed. Although the idea of museums for educational provision was recognised during the Victorian period (1837-1901), especially with the support of Prince Albert and academics, the notion of museums as social education institutions was encouraged alongside industrial concerns and a liberal ideology. The Museums Act of 1845 was initially proposed for advocacy of art education and conservation of representative objects of Britain's national art and history. The original bill was drafted to empower appropriate authorities of large towns to establish and maintain museums, museums of art in particular. It introduced a system of self-taxation and self-regulation, and reflected a rational thinking that the creation of museum space as public institutions could reform a life of drunkenness for the working class. However, after much debate, the Act alternatively revealed a commercial viewpoint - the establishment of museums had a goal to create a platform for working men to acquire knowledge of art for improving industrial products, as well as attempting to promote British nationhood through strengthening the competitiveness of Britain in the Continental market. As a result, the establishment of both museums of art and museums of art and science in large towns was encouraged by the Act, supported by a quota of taxation and admission fees. The taxation machinery, however, did not achieve the local rate as it proposed. These museums founded under the Act were

recognisable for their characteristics in displays of industrial design and entertainment functions (Thomas, 1889; Chung, 2003).

Likewise, the Great Exhibition held in 1851 was another consequence in terms of industrialisation, the support for social education and the rising liberalism. The Great Exhibition was organised and financed by Prince Albert. The main purpose of the Great Exhibition was for reforming design, whereby the production of industrial products could be improved through educating the operatives. It marked a significant shift in the role of museums, from a presence of high culture towards a vehicle conveying wider social values and public functions (Bennett, 1995, 2000; Chung, 2003). The success of the Great Exhibition revealed that the working class was a potential museum audience. The spirit of the Great Exhibition was then continued by the foundation of the original Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), supported by the surplus of the Great Exhibition. The V&A was opened in 1852 as a celebration and encouragement of art, manufacture, industrial technology and design, containing contemporary objects bought from the Great Exhibition in the heart of its collection. Bennett (1995) remarks that the museum of the time was to “help the working man choose a life characterised by moral restraint as preferable to the temptations of both bed and the ale-house” (1995, pp. 20-21) by citing the comment of Sir Henry Cole (1884), a contemporary cultural reformer and the chief organiser of the Great Exhibition:

If you wish to vanquish Drunkenness and the Devil, make God’s day of rest elevating and refining to the working man; don’t leave him to find his recreation in bed first, and in the public house afterwards; [...] open all museums of Science and Art after the hours of Divine service; let the working man get his refreshment there in company with his wife and children, rather than leave him to booze away from them in the Public house and Gin Palace. The Museum will certainly lead him to wisdom and gentleness, and to Heaven, whilst the latter will lead him to brutality and perdition. (Cole, 1884, cited in Bennett, 1995, p. 21)

With such a rational and liberal ideology, the earlier idea of art education in museums was pursued together with the public libraries movement. The Public Libraries Acts had been amended several times since the 1850s and gradually empowered local authorities in terms of regulation and taxation. However, the focus remained on libraries. Museums in connection with libraries were little

influenced directly by the Acts, yet still to some extent evolved with the reform of local governments during the late nineteenth century through the 1920s, whereby the old borough and county constituencies were replaced by new county councils under the Reform Act of 1884 (Chung, 2003; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006). In the public museum boom during this period, local museums were established in accordance with an urban model of large museums regarding their objectives, collections and displays. Museums in conjunction with public libraries underlined the importance of public service in education and mostly placed emphasis on teaching art and sciences. Such rational thinking of museums, hence, seems to correspond to Belfiore's (2004) view of instrumental policy-making tradition in the UK, as mentioned in Chapter Two.

Museums in Scotland were further encouraged in the nineteenth century by a practical view of education as well as private patronage and civic initiative. Meanwhile, the establishment of a national museum in Scotland started to be discussed. The rationale was not only nationalistic but also concerned with social functions, such as entertainment for the working class to avoid drinking habits, as well as economic benefits of exchanging practical knowledge and developing industrial potential. As a result, the Industrial Museum of Scotland was agreed to be established in 1854 and formally founded in 1861 (it then became the Royal Museum in 1904 and was incorporated in the National Museums of Scotland in 1998) (Burnett and Newby, 2007). Also, with the development of the arts in Scotland, the National Gallery of Scotland was founded in 1859. Due to comparatively less British state support, this was regarded as an effort of Scottish civilisation and mirrored the rational view of museums at that time, given an intention of social education about fine arts behind the establishment (Prior, 2002). At local level, although the 1850 Public Libraries Act was extended to Scotland in 1853, followed by subsequent amendments, there was no visible and direct effect on museum development in Scotland. Not until the Public Libraries Act of 1887 was the power and legal framework for local authorities strengthened to establish public museums in Scotland (MGC, 1986; Burnett and Newby, 2007). The sector in Scotland had grown, with museums donated by local societies to local authorities and newly created museums justified by local politicians, such as the Glasgow Industrial Museum (1870). It seems that museums at local level, which grew along with local government development in

a rational atmosphere in the late nineteenth century, continue a dedication to public service and social presentation in contemporary practice, as the case study of Glasgow Museums in Chapter Seven demonstrates. Although the public role of museums developed, relatively speaking, it was private benefactors that remarkably contributed to the institution of museums in Scotland during this period.

SCOTLAND IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although the importance of heavy industries to the Scottish economy to an extent continued in the early twentieth century, standards of living in Scotland, measured by elements such as housing and public health, were relatively poor, and unemployment rates increased greatly after the economic depression of the 1920s. Scottish emigration to England and abroad grew continuously. The socio-political turbulence resulting from the labour movement was remarkably active. The difficulties Scotland had experienced urged changes to be made. As the radical movement on behalf of the working class grew constantly along with the extensions of the franchise, several socialist groups, including the Labour Party, were established and grew stronger by the early twentieth century, surpassing the previously dominant Liberals in Scottish politics (Mitchison, 1982; Gardiner, 2005; Pittock, 2008). In association with the socialist movement, Scottish nationalism developed in consideration of political, economic and social disruption in Scottish society. The campaign for home rule by the 1910s was continuingly based on Scotland's self-confidence in the partnership with England in the British Empire. Yet the belief in Scottish home rule for modernising the union began to be challenged after the First World War. In addition to British patriotism among Scots that had risen to promote cooperative war efforts during the First and Second World Wars, a unionist perspective was advocated by claiming the need for staying in the union with England to solve Scotland's economic and social problems. As a result, a regional authority was invented while the headquarters of the Scottish Office was relocated from London to Edinburgh in 1939, and state subsidies were increased in order to solve Scotland's problems. This wave of Scottish nationalism diminished in the mid-1930s (Paterson, 1994; Beveridge and Turnbull, 1997; Finlay, 1998; Davidson, 2000; McCrone, 2001). It was then that a turning point appeared, where "the

Union was increasingly portrayed less as mutually beneficial partnership between Scotland and England and more as a dependent relationship necessary for Scottish economic survival” (Finlay, 1998, p. 105), which continued having impact on Scotland within the British state in the post-WWII era.

Although in liberal terms culture was viewed to be situated properly in the private sphere, where it was free from politics, culture has always been one of the realms where Scottish nationalism has been embedded (Paterson, 1994; Davidson, 2000; McCrone, 2001). Cultural movements in Scotland in the early twentieth century, mostly in literature, corresponding to the development of the political dimension of Scottish nationalism at that time, revealed an expression which turned away from the view of ‘Scottishness within Britain’ of the nineteenth century to an emphasis on Scottish individuality (Mitchison, 1982; Gardiner, 2005). It is noted that Scottish national feelings and cultural links were between Scottish people and their emigrated relatives overseas rather than their political partners south of the border. This cultural movement denoted, according to Kellas (1980, p. 173), “the determination of the powerful native administrative establishment to formulate a policy for Scottish patronage within the general UK structures for the encouragement of culture”, whereas cultural distinctiveness was preferably advanced from a non-political dimension by some nationalists. In relation to the revival of Scottish distinctiveness, the attention to heritage grown in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century as a reaction to the industrialisation and urbanisation gradually developed in Scotland throughout the early twentieth century, which saw the establishment of the National Trust for Scotland in 1931 (as the National Trust founded in 1895 was thought to be failing to care for Scottish interest) and the Saltire Society in 1936 (Walsh, 1992; McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995; Gardiner, 2005).

In addition, as previously mentioned, entertainment for the working class and middle class in urban areas had distinctively developed in the late nineteenth century. Cultures presented within museums were connected with urban popular cultures by means of the organisation of major exhibitions, e.g. the Glasgow Empire Exhibition in 1938, bringing about greater influence as wider audiences were reached beyond the conventional scope of public museums. Similar to the creation of the V&A, these exhibitions were usually added to or absorbed into the public museum system (Bennett, 1995). On the other hand, it was indicated

in the 1928 Miers Report that local, regional and provincial museums in Britain generally lacked a local connection and were not able to meet public interest, especially as media, communication technology and more entertainment choices were rapidly developing (MGC, 1986). In Scotland, as urban life increasingly became a subject of municipally-based folk museums, folk museums based on country life were mostly an effort of private individuals. It was not until the post-WWII era that the impact of the World Wars on museum development was seen in a greater public interest in heritage conservation and the development of folk life museums. In general, museum development had declined during the inter-war years. Public museums that were able to retain their operation played a role in wartime education; for example, regimental museums emerged as a centre of wartime historical studies. Most museums in the period were financially assisted and managed by trustees.

In short, the modern form of public museums in Britain emerged and developed alongside ideological developments from rationalism to liberalism rooted in the Enlightenment, from the union of 1707 until the early twentieth century. In response to industrialisation, urbanisation and political reforms from the late eighteenth century through the nineteenth century, a utilitarian view had transformed the museum scene from pure antiquarian and academic circles towards the provision of public service in terms of education or economy (MGC, 1986; Walsh, 1992). However, while social structure was the key factor behind the transformation, different rationales concerning museum development certainly appeared as an underlying elitism. Hence, in the post-WWII period, museum development seemed to be an epitome of democracy where cultural citizenship was by degrees advanced and exercised in museums. In Scotland, a distinct civil society within the British state was formed, and Scots' attitude towards the union changed through the centuries. Questioning 'what is the best for Scotland' in its national context seems to be the way to understand the political concept of Scottish nationalism at a time. As shown so far, a demand for considering the particularity of Scotland grew; the connection between Scotland's political and cultural life became increasingly explicit in the post-WWII period, where matters concerning museums and galleries in Scotland were also emphasised.

SCOTLAND IN A POST-IMPERIAL ERA

THE MUSEUM BOOM

Since 1945, and primarily after the 1960s, the museum sector in the UK grew enormously. By that time new technological development and rapid economic and social change beginning from the inter-war period had an impact on long-established traditions of people's everyday lives. Besides, destruction of natural and cultural environments resulting from the Wars had raised public interest in conservation issues and rethinking of the meaning of heritage for the nation (Walsh, 1992). The growth of heritage conservation at different levels across Britain was then reflected in the post-WWI museum boom (Walsh, 1992; Ambrose, 1993; Babbidge, 2005). Museum development in post-WWII UK was chiefly driven by the independent sector. Independent museums were increasingly established to meet the demand of older visitors' need for a place to explore traditional values and from which to face the changes. The development of museums in the independent sector brought subsequent influence on public museums: in order to maintain the scale and quality of collections, many of these new independent museums collaborated with the public sector, and their advancements in various aspects of museum work brought about renewal and redevelopment of existing public sector museums. In Scotland, the growth of the museum sector was mostly seen in the rise of independent museums as well. Often, these independent museums founded by voluntary individuals, clans, local societies and private institutions were created when local authorities did not provide or were unable to deliver to meet people's needs (MGC, 1986). Museums engaged in the collection of materials from the past in particular localities in order to illustrate the past order. The transformation of the old local industries, such as agriculture, fishing and mining, became the main subject of museums. In particular, the major heavy industries or engineering were regarded as culturally important, which can be illustrated by the development of museums such as Glasgow's Museum of Transport (1964), the Royal Museum (previously the Industrial Museum of Scotland and later a part of the National Museums of Scotland) and some local authority museums. Overall, museum development at that time was driven by self-motivation and local concerns to a large extent.

However, it is noted that in general new and existing museums in this period were ill-connected, and the museum's vision of long-term operation appeared poorly set (Ambrose, 1993). In the 1960s, the British government became more conscious of the necessity to protect the historic environment, and its responsibility for supporting museum development became pointedly concerned with the expansion of non-national museums. A report, *Survey of Provincial Museums and Galleries* (also known as the Rosse Report), was produced in 1963 by the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries. The Standing Commission was the lead strategic agency for advising the government on museum matters since 1931, before it was replaced by the Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) in 1981 (The National Archives, 2007). It had played a significant role in the UK's museum development. The Rosse Report was the first thorough investigation of the museum sector and so seen as a breakthrough in this regard. It involved fundamental information about the role of museums in society and their actual and possible contributions to communities (The Burlington Magazine, 1963). The Rosse Report was designed to "ascertain the scope, nature and significance of the local collections, the manner in which they are organised, the resources available to them, and the possibilities of their future development on a basis of regional co-operation" (Carlisle, 1987, cited in Babbidge, 2005, p. 18). It proposed a number of new approaches, from museum education, museum activities, admission policies and charges, to staff training, purchase funds, along with partnership and cooperation. Above all, the major recommendation of the Rosse Report was the development of Area Museum Councils (AMCs) - created as a channel for central funding to local museums, which have continued in existence to date (Babbidge, 2005).

Nevertheless, short-term initiatives since then were unsuccessful in making sustainable progress (Babbidge, 2005). For example, the Rosse Report identified the need for a further increase of the government's grant-in-aid, where funding available for museum building was particularly urged (The Burlington Magazine, 1963). Such a recommendation of a 'Housing the Museums Fund' in the Rosse Report was also emphasised in subsequent reports, e.g. the Wright Report, *Provincial Museums and Galleries*, published by the Department of Education and Science in 1973, which stated that "to encourage local initiative and to allow a reduction in the accumulated backlog of building projects [...] a Housing

the Museums Fund should be established” (Wright 15.7, cited in Framework for a System for Museums 1.4, Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, 1979, p. 6). Although purchase funds were increased in support of provincial museums’ special acquisitions that were considerably justified with local importance, there was almost no capital fund from the central government. At local government level, a limited sum of funding was given to capital projects based on the ‘locally determined schemes’ launched in 1971; however, museums had to compete with other public services for special grants available through the Arts Council and the Sports Council. The Arts Council’s ‘Fund for Housing the Arts’, which was granted principally for establishing exhibition galleries to enhance an arts centre or temporary ones for museums, did not provide for the use of building permanent exhibition galleries and other museum housing projects (Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, 1979). It seems that the museum sector struggled with funding during the 1960s through the 1970s. As regards funding and developing museums, the 1980s saw change under the Conservative government, which came to power in 1979 with the New Right philosophy.

THE NEW RIGHT PHILOSOPHY

An important phenomenon of the immediate post-WWII UK was the welfare state. The welfare state, in favour of government funds in healthcare and education, state intervention in the economy and public ownership of essential industries, led to the centralisation of British policy under the Labour administrations (1945-1951; 1964-1970; 1974-1979) as well as the Conservative administrations (1951-1964; 1970-1974). A consensus in politics was reached during the 1950s through the 1960s, while the Conservatives to an extent retained their ideology of liberal trade mechanisms and freedom from government involvement. Since the mid-1970s, the New Right philosophy containing a neoliberal view arose as a reaction to the welfare state in British politics, believing that citizenship rights would be best maintained by free market forces and minimal government interference. After the Conservatives sealed victory in the 1979 election, the government of the New Right led by Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) and subsequently by John Major (1990-1997) emphasised the importance of economic growth and adopted a free market approach. As a result, there appeared

privatisation of some public services and industries which had been nationalised under Labour. With the rising attention to consumption, public services were increasingly perceived as a marketable commodity and had to take a different view to recognise the public as not only citizens but also consumers and customers (Walsh, 1992; Paterson, 1994; Kawashima, 1999; Davidson, 2000). Entrepreneurism was introduced to the public sector, and effectiveness became a concern of public services with regard to quality and, as argued, financial value particularly (Walsh, 1992; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006).

Influenced by the New Right philosophy and practice, changes occurred in the museum sector since the 1980s. Through a legislative modification, national museums and galleries were decentralised and made into semi-independent bodies (Boylan, 2006). As the government sought to bring the private sector investments, including private donations, corporate sponsorship and patronage, into the cultural sector by means of tax concessions in order to reduce public expenditure, museums were directed to be more self-dependent for their core operational costs through additional fundraising, e.g. sponsorship, retail and admission fees - in fact, admission charges to national museums were briefly introduced in 1973 when Margaret Thatcher was the Secretary of State for Education, but the policy was withdrawn by the incoming Labour government. In addition, the changes in political ideologies and public management since the 1980s, as explained in Chapter Two, to some extent caused the instrumentalisation of cultural policy. The spread of New Public Management had an impact on the design and evaluation of cultural policy, and accountability was increasingly emphasised in relation to the purpose of funding. In that case, museums were by degrees transformed to voluntarily promote their contributions in cultural and educational terms to society and possible funders. An entrepreneurial culture was created in museums, where marketing techniques and business management were involved in their operation. The role of museums in society proclaimed by the sector was then perceived by the government as the criteria for deciding public subsidies (Walsh, 1992; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006; Shaw, 2006). Although it is pointed out that not until the 1990s, especially under New Labour, was the role of museums truly re-examined in the public domain (McPherson, 2006), the late 1980s saw the emergence of the new museology as well as the establishment of a national

standard for the UK's museum sector. While the former embarked on the conceptualisation of museums and their work in a contextual way, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, the latter set out a systematic guidance and measurement to raise the profile of museums and develop the key aspects of their work.

The attention to the creation of a UK-wide standard for museum services began in the early 1980s. A national Registration Scheme for Museums and Galleries was set in 1988, which was revised in 1995 and changed in 2004 to the Accreditation Scheme for Museums in the United Kingdom (Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries, 2002; MLA, 2004) - an outline of the present Accreditation Scheme is included in the following chapter. The Scheme has been regarded as a minimum standard for museums and galleries in the UK. It has been considered as advantageous for museums to recognise and enhance their operation and performance, as well as for funding bodies to assess the eligibility of a registered museum for grant-in-aid (Ambrose, 1993). Here, it is worth mentioning the government-funded bodies involved in the process of administering the Registration Scheme, the MGC and the AMCs.

Financially supported by the Office of Arts and Libraries, which was replaced by the new Department for National Heritage (DNH) in 1992, the MGC (the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries before 1981) was an independent body with charitable status that operated under the Royal Charter since 1987 (The National Archives, 2007). It was mainly responsible for advisory and standard-setting on museum matters, with an annual budget of £9m. In order to encourage cooperation within the museum sector and between national and provincial institutions, the Commission was authorised to directly communicate with any department involved with museums. The MGC worked in partnership with the AMCs, a major creation in the mid-1960s, as mentioned before, in operation of the national Museum Registration Scheme and assessment for financial support for projects and programmes with a focus on standards improvement in terms of museum collections and services for users. The nine AMCs worked on a museum partnerships basis, coordinated by the Committee of AMCs (CAMC). Seven of the AMCs in England were sponsored by the British government through the MGC and cumulatively financed by external sources from the public and private sector, while the Scottish and Welsh ones separately

received their grants-in-aid directly through the Scottish and Welsh Offices (MGC, 1992). The Councils were independently operated with charitable status. They were involved in museum planning by means of communicating with local authorities, agencies at both regional and national levels and other relevant organisations regarding museum development (Ambrose, 1993). All of the AMCs took museum education into account to develop museum services for schools and museum-based activities for local education and community service. In addition, they offered funding for training programmes and cooperated with training bodies such as the Museum Training Institute, which was established in 1989 (later renamed Cultural Heritage National Training Institute) to produce training opportunities for the museum sector workforce, from volunteers to senior managers (Ambrose, 1993). The MGC and the AMCs had different yet equally significant roles in the development of the UK's museum sector in the late twentieth century. However, the respective roles of the MGC and the Scottish Museums Council (SMC, Scottish part of the AMCs network) became confusing in Scotland - this is outlined after the next section on the Conservative government's heritage policy.

HERITAGE AND LEISURE TOURISM

In the 1970s, there appeared a move from a manufacturing-based economy to a service economy in the UK; this was accelerated under the Conservative government since the 1980s. Reflecting the improvement of standard of living, the leisure and tourism industry developed immensely and became a major sector of the service economy during the 1980s and into the 1990s. Meanwhile, the post-WWII conservation movement, which had contributed to the growth of museums, achieved remarkable expansion. By that time, heritage and heritage institutions as museums were popular tourist attractions for overseas tourists as well as for a substantial number of British. In terms of neoliberalism, which to a degree characterised the New Right philosophy, heritage and heritage institutions were commodified in the same way as other areas of public services, to be consumed among diverse leisure choices in the marketplace. This was the beginning of the trend in the recent decades to recognise the heritage industry as crucial in the context of the leisure and tourism industry. On the other hand, the traditional Conservatism was to some extent retained in the beliefs of the

government of the New Right where there was a view of maintaining strong political authority for the nation. As noted, it was observable that the neoliberal and neoconservative ideas were intertwined in some areas of their policy and practice, and this combination had specific effects on the development of the heritage sector in the UK at that time (Walsh, 1992).

The Conservative government approached a more unified policy towards heritage conservation, including the setting of national conservation bodies. Under the National Heritage Act of 1980, which was planned by the previous administration and modified by the incoming Conservative government, the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) was created to replace the National Land Fund (1946-1980) - the National Land Fund was one of the British government's initial efforts to protect the historic environment after the Second World War, yet did not function as it intended to for its duration (Abercrombie, 1982; McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995). The NHMF was expected particularly for the consistency of supporting large campaigns (Abercrombie, 1982). In 1984, the Heritage Building and Monuments Commission (HBMC), commonly known as English Heritage, was set up under the National Heritage Act of 1983 to manage the historic environment of England. In the same year, the CADW (Welsh Historic Monuments) was created as part of the Welsh Office, and so was the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate in Scotland (which was inherited by Historic Scotland, an executive agency established by the government in 1991). The establishment of these equivalent organisations responsible for preserving, safeguarding and promoting Britain's built heritage made clear the Thatcher government's capture of the significance of national heritage (Walsh, 1992; McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995).

The development of HBMC also reflected the New Right's emphasis on economic efficiency. It was asserted in the National Heritage Act of 1983 that the HBMC would have a corporate function and have the right to engage in commercial activities relating to its responsible properties, e.g. the production and sale of informative publications and souvenirs as well as the provision of visitor facilities and services.³⁴ In this regard, except for free access for schools, education for

³⁴ See Section 35 of the National Heritage Act 1983 at: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1983/47/crossheading/historic-buildings-and-monuments-commission-for-england/enacted>

the wider public came along with the notion of consumption by the operation of admission charges, payments for extra facilities such as catering and parking, and/or membership fees. As a consequence, heritage was brought to the marketplace, and 'profitability' was concerned with the management of the properties in the care of English Heritage:

[English Heritage's] second chairman, the newspaper magnate Jocelyn Stevens took over in 1992, and almost immediately announced his plans to sell 200 or so less well-known sites to save some £90 million a year. His critics [*The Guardian*, 24 October 1992] argued that the plan was only to keep sites with 'earning capacity' and to abandon financially unprofitable ones. (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995, p. 75)

As shown in Chapter Two, the changing political ideology recently in relation to the perceived functions of museums in non-cultural dimensions has become a drive for the rise of managerial, administrative and financial professions within institutions. As far as the marketing of heritage was concerned, there was an impact on professionalism within the heritage industry. In fact, this was indicated by the change of the staff profile and the approach to the work within a number of national institutions in the late 1980s to the early 1990s:

The need to survive in the market has had its consequence in a new emphasis on those who can produce something of financial worth. This emphasis was manifested, for example, at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1988, when a number of academics were forced out as part of the wider mission of profitability. Such policies can only lead to the damaging of the reputations of such an institution's expertise and professionalism. (Walsh, 1992, p. 45)

Under its chief executive, a lifelong civil servant, Historic Scotland has cautiously moved away from the language of the architectural historian and the civil service bureaucracy. [...] Changing from technical civil service mode to user-friendly executive agency is not likely to have been straightforward. Historic Scotland has a staff of about 600, some 100 fewer than in the mid-1980s, largely because some of its services, for example archaeology, have been contracted out. The requirement to popularise the work of the agency, and especially its guidebooks, seems to have caused tensions within the organisation between the popularisers and the conservation experts, largely architects and technical staff. Nevertheless, the limits of popularisation are recognised. (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995, pp. 89-90)

Here, the development of the heritage sector in the 1980s through the 1990s has demonstrated the merge of the neoliberal perspective of the New Right with

conservatism, highlighting the tradition and heritage of a nation. As the commodification of heritage differentiated the New Right government's conservation principles from the old conservative philosophy underlying the post-WWI conservation movement through the 1970s, this also implied an inherent contradiction in terms of traditional and commercial values of heritage. As the heritage sector was developed with the expansion of the tourism industry, a concern was raised that tourism would have a negative impact on the historic environment. In addition, regardless of the New Right's emphasis on the role of the individual in the marketplace and a minimal interventionist government which led to radical reform in the public sector, the Conservatives' desire for a strong central authority and the retrieval of economic power and the British nationhood during the Victorian era resulted in paradoxical consequences. The Conservative hegemony was symbolised by the promotion of heritage, and it is argued that the attention to heritage here appeared an Anglo-centric perspective in the political and cultural spheres (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995) where "Celtic peoples are perceived by the Right as peripheral to England" (Walsh, 1992, p. 89). While the Conservative government's efforts in promoting heritage and setting up national conservation bodies seemed explicit, the power of central authority was increased in a vague way; for example, Historic Scotland (the preceding Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate in Scotland) was directly accountable to the Secretary of State (Walsh, 1992). Therefore, it is often argued that there were fundamental contradictions in the theory and practice of the New Right government (Walsh, 1992; Kawashima, 1999; Buckingham and Jones, 2001; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006).

THE IMPACT OF THE NEW RIGHT ON SCOTLAND

As mentioned earlier, Scotland's political, economic and social disturbance had resulted in an increase of state subsidies in Scotland along with a negative expression of Scotland's relationship with England in the union as economically dependent. Scotland's dependency became the tone of politics in general in terms of unionism through the second half of the twentieth century. By the 1960s, almost all British colonies achieved independence, which marked the decline of the British Empire. Affected by the opportunities in imperial markets, Scotland's heavy industries had declined by that time, in the face of growing

competition from the US and Europe. The post-war political consensus on the welfare state had maintained the state's intervention in Scotland. The state played a significant role in post-WWII Scottish economic and social well-being, and Scottish society gradually developed expectations of the public sector as well as support for the mechanism of the welfare state (Finlay, 1998; Stewart, 2009). Meanwhile, there appeared a rise of nationalist support in Scottish politics. The Scottish National Party (SNP), founded in 1934 in favour of Scottish independence, grew by the 1960s and advanced in the 1970s. However, it is noted that this electoral behaviour was a way in which Scots showed their disappointment and aspirations of the Westminster government's policies for solving Scottish problems rather than a desire for political independence (Finlay, 1998; Pittock, 2008), which could be recognised by the rejection of the 1979 referendum of Scottish devolution. Referencing statistics of identity surveys for Scots, Pittock (2008, pp. 82-83) reveals that a dual identity as Scottish and British was majorly accepted during the 1970s. With no alternative to choosing one of the two, most Scots would rather adopt a British identity. Hence, in the post-WWII period before the end of the 1970s, unionism was maintained by guaranteeing Scottish society that the British state would have the primary responsibility for its social mobility (Finlay, 1998; Stewart, 2009).

In that regard, the promotion of the free market mechanism in opposition to the welfare state by the New Right government since 1979 had aroused reactions in Scotland. In fact, from 1979 to 1997 the Labour Party remained the political majority in Scotland. The Conservatives did not intend to impose their policies and style of government completely on Scotland, concerning that it would threaten the party's representation in Scotland. Paradoxically, the Conservatives tackled the rise of Scottish nationalism by means of increasing public expenditure in Scotland. As a result, as many argue, Scotland developed a subsidy culture, and this became a negative demonstration of unionism in this period (Finlay, 1998; Pittock, 2008), where higher public spending in Scotland was pointed out to claim Scotland's necessary dependency on the union. However, as the New Right ideologies continued forming the basis of reforms south of the border, the criticism of the welfare state from the Conservatives was inevitably assumed as an attack on the Scottish nation, not to mention that post-WWII Scottish society's general embracement of the welfare state as a

means of improving and achieving well-being was significant to Scots' definition of the union and a British identity (Finlay, 1998). In the end, the Conservatives' unpopularity in Scotland grew. It seemed that the Conservative government's inconsistency caused a greater divergence of politics between Scotland and England. The ethos of the welfare state became a distinct culture in Scottish politics, whereas public debate on the subsidy culture arose within Scotland in the 1990s. Scottish nationalism grew through the 1980s as an effect of the difference of Scottish politics. Also inspired by the models of independent small European states, Scottish nationalism emerged in a European framework. This nationalist development led to the campaigning for devolution in the mid-1990s. Scottish reaction against the Conservatives' restructuring was joined with the nationalist movement - for which the Conservatives emphasised Scotland's subsidisation and dependency even more (Finlay, 1998). It is noted that the numbers rooting for a British identity gradually reduced from the late 1980s, and the support of a Scottish identity reached its high point in the referendum of devolution in 1997 (Pittock, 2008, pp. 82-83). Devolution was adopted "as a means of preserving the values of the post-war welfare state whilst retaining Scotland's spending advantage" (Steward, 2009, p. 158).

The Scottish cultural scene had transformed rapidly since the 1960s, particularly because of several changes and the establishment of a number of national cultural institutions (Pittock, 2008, pp. 114-115). Following a cultural conference in 1977 held by the Saltire Society - the pioneer organisation dedicated to the redevelopment of Scottish culture since 1936 - a debate of policies concerning autonomous cultural development in Scotland opened and was followed by the creation and devolution of several national cultural bodies during the 1980s to the 1990s, e.g. full devolution of the Scottish Arts Council in 1994. Scottish cultural development in the post-WWII period seemed to reflect the general condition of Scottish society, where the distinctiveness of Scotland was increasingly emphasised. In line with political and cultural changes, there was a call for considering and dealing with a different reality facing Scotland's museums.

As the general issue of funding for museums was raised in the 1960s, post-WWII economic and social disruption seemed to affect the utilisation of resources and the delivery of museum services particularly at local government level, even in

metropolitan areas. For example, it took over 20 years to find a solution to the problem of housing the Burrell Collection after the collection was gifted to the City of Glasgow in 1944 by Sir William Burrell (1861-1958), a magnate in the shipping industry born and based in Glasgow. The gift, together with a £450,000 housing fund, was made with specific conditions requiring the collection to be housed in a rural location at least 16 miles away from the city in order to show the finest of the artworks and avoid the city's industrial pollution. The gallery site was decided on the Pollok Estate after the estate was gifted to the city in 1966 as a public park. Although the estate on the south side of Glasgow was only 3 miles from the centre, the trustees relaxed the rule and generally agreed that the estate allowed a proper rural setting for the collection. The design of the current museum building was chosen through a competition held in 1971. Eventually, the museum was opened in 1983, with its construction subsidised by the Glasgow City Council as well as the Scottish Office.

While radical reforms under the New Right led to privatisation of public services and reduced levels of public funding, making fundraising a more important task than it had been before for most museums in the UK, there was in fact a growth of public investment in heritage by the 1980s through the 1990s, given the Conservative government's concentration on heritage and increased demands from the heritage sector. Central and local government expenditure on museums and galleries in Scotland steadily rose (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995). At the time, national museums and galleries in Scotland were directly supported by the state in the management of the Scottish Education Department (SED), while the Scottish Museums Council (SMC), with seventy-two per cent of its budget received from the Scottish Office through the SED, was responsible for channelling central funding to Scotland's non-national museums. The SMC was founded as a charitable independent company as part of the network of AMCs in 1964 (known as the Council for Museums and Galleries in Scotland until 1984; rebranded as the Museums Galleries Scotland, MGS, since 2008). However, it was argued that Scottish museum matters were not taken into account as much as those in other parts of the UK. Although the problem of housing the Burrell Collection had been pointed out in the Rosse Report of 1963, it was commented in the report *Museums in Scotland*, published by the MGC in 1986, that previous reports, including the Rosse Report, the Wright Report of 1973, *Framework for a*

System for Museums of 1979, and other MGC reports, “did not consider the particular needs of Scotland” or “referred only to those specific aspects of museum provision in Scotland” (*Museums in Scotland* 1.35, MGC, 1986, p. 14). The 1980s saw few public reports centring on Scottish museums after expansion in the sector since the 1960s.

Museums in Scotland was the first to include a comprehensive examination of national and non-national museum provision in Scotland, including an investigation of funding and organisational structure, e.g. the roles of the MGC and SMC. As a membership body, according to the report, the SMC had developed a political role to raise awareness of matters relating to Scotland’s museums. It became questionable as some of its members expected that the SMC’s priority remit would have been providing services to its members. However, the fact that the SMC took on a character of a national agency was understandable since the MGC, a UK body concerned with the development of all museums throughout the UK, had been deemed inattentive to Scotland. This issue had been pointed out with a suggestion of a separate Scottish Commission in the early 1980s. Instead, the MGC’s executive functions were expanded and so was its activity in Scotland. As the circumstances were recognised in the report, further recommendations were put forward. One was that the SMC, as a professional organisation connecting Scotland’s non-national museums with the Scottish Office, other relevant government agencies and local authorities, would have to find a way of balancing its “regional” functions like the other AMCs with its political role in lobbying specific issues for individual museums in Scotland. Additionally, the MGC would need to enhance how Scottish interests would be represented by reconsidering the appointment of Commissioners on behalf of Scotland as well as establishing a Scottish Committee within the MGC (not necessarily a separate office). The Scottish Committee, as proposed, would provide the Scottish Office and other relevant government agencies with advice on general museum matters, e.g. the level of funding for the SMC comparable with that to the English AMCs (MGC, 1986). With the devolutionary movements, the AMCs evolved into different institutional forms, and the roles of the MGC and the SMC were adjusted accordingly: the SMC (the MGS since 2008), funded by the Scottish government since devolution, has retained its membership basis and has been developing its role in the policy process, making its national role to an

extent equivalent to that of the national agency in England which replaced the MGC in 2000 - the current position and the foreseen future of the MGS in the Scottish structure of museums is discussed further in the following chapter.

Although politically Scotland was cautious about the New Right, the commodification of culture was an observable phenomenon growing in Scotland since the 1980s. In the same report mentioned above, museums were recognised predominantly for their educational function where their work of preserving and studying the past was important to provide knowledge of natural and cultural environments. In addition, it pointed to the fact that museums in Scotland were popular tourist attractions and created job opportunities, so their potential in the context of the tourism industry and urban regeneration was emphasised. In this regard, it was gradually recognised that museums alongside other cultural resources could contribute to Scotland's economic development. For example, culture as a means of urban regeneration had not been considered within urban renewal policies in Glasgow regarding social problems, industrial decline and urban legacy of housing since the 1950s. However, individual cultural projects and events during the 1980s, such as the opening of the Burrell Collection in 1983, brought attention to Glasgow's cultural resources. With the growing awareness of the significance of service-oriented industries in post-industrial cities, culture began to be seen as an approach to urban marketing in the city's transformation process (Booth and Boyle, 1993). Following the success of the Glasgow Garden Festival in 1988, Glasgow's bid in 1988 to host the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) of 1990 was also based on the anticipation of place marketing. Glasgow's initiative for the ECOC aimed to improve the physical environment and develop cultural tourism through establishing flagship arts infrastructure such as the Royal Concert Hall, and holding major cultural events, as well as maintaining ongoing urban regeneration projects. However, the use of culture in Glasgow's urban regeneration is critically discussed, especially for its emphasis on economic growth (Kay, 2000). The opposition drew the view of the Worker's City Group to argue the focal determination of the 1990 ECOC was on building up Glasgow's international appeal for tourism development instead of enhancing local quality of life for ordinary folk. Mooney (2004) demonstrates that the majority of ECOC funding was used for major international and national events and attractions rather than those centring on regional and local culture

and history. Despite that, hosting the 1990 ECOC is generally acclaimed as a breakthrough for Glasgow. The strategy of place marketing by transforming the city's image to a 'cultural capital' led to outcomes which lasted for years afterwards. The legacy of the ECOC is not only shown in the growth of tourism but also in the cultural sector development, e.g. the establishment of Glasgow's Gallery of Modern Art in 1996. Certainly, the last two decades of the twentieth century saw the changes resulting from the New Right's restructuring. In 1997, the Labour government succeeded the Conservatives with a landslide victory. Cultural policy under the Labour government (1997-2010) somehow dealt with the contradiction of the New Right and had a profound effect on the rationale for museums in recent years, raising issues concerned with the impact of museums as noted in Chapter Two, which were also mirrored in devolved Scotland. The next section provides an outline of New Labour's cultural policy regarding museums as well as the initial development of Scottish national cultural strategy after devolution.

INFLUENCE OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

NEW LABOUR'S STRATEGY FOR CULTURAL POLICY

Since the mid-1980s, the Labour Party has moved their position towards the centre-left, adopting to some extent the concept of neoliberalism. Under the leadership of Tony Blair, the party won the general election of 1997, branded itself 'New Labour' and described its political direction as the 'Third Way'. The arrival of New Labour is marked as one significant and determining moment for Britain in the beginning of the twenty-first century. There were many aspects differentiating New Labour's policies from those under previous Conservative and Labour governments (see for example, Cerny and Evans, 2004). One of them was its redefinition of welfare provision where welfarism should be managed based on a tie of rights and responsibilities as well as concentrating on the connection, not the contrast, between the individual and the state (Cerny and Evans, 2004). In the rhetoric of the Labour government, a modern civic society on a basis of equal opportunities for all would require public services of accountability and decentralised policies where political, economic, social and international dimensions should be developed jointly. For example, public health,

education and training were regarded as the key to the development of individuals and communities in order to achieve the goals of economic growth and social cohesion (Coates, 2000). Such overarching governmental initiatives can also be seen in New Labour's approach to cultural policy.

The government's responsibility for culture was carried out by the new Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), which was formed to replace the DNH in 1997. The focus of DCMS's policy included several themes: cultural industries, economic regeneration, the importance of education, the pursuit of excellence and innovation, and the development of access (Cunningham and Fisher, 1997; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006). New Labour's definition of Britain as a creative nation in the twenty-first century sought to place cultural industries at the heart of Britain's economic strength at home and abroad. While the trend of recognising the contribution of culture to economic regeneration in terms of developing tourism, creating employment and attracting investment since the 1980s was endorsed, it was believed that culture and cultural industries could promote a sense of community, identity and civic pride. In that regard, education and training were considered to be the most important aspects in pursuing excellence and innovation by means of encouraging artists and audiences as well as public interest in culture and the arts. Overall, 'access' was regarded as the foundation where barriers of all kinds, e.g. physical, financial, geographical, attitudinal, cultural and intellectual, had to be taken into account (Cunningham and Fisher, 1997; Lang, 2006). So far, the goals of New Labour's cultural policy seemed to be identified with a combination of economic and social importance. Despite New Labour's effort in developing cultural industries, which was modelled by other countries, including Taiwan, there has been a definitional debate of whether to include museums and galleries in definitions of the cultural industries, as they have been traditionally regarded as a subsidised art (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). Since it is not the intention of this thesis to discuss the cultural and creative industries but rather the relevance of the museum sector to cultural policy in the context of this research, it seems fair to place a museum in the so-called creative economy in a position such as, in New Labour's language, a stage for demonstrating the UK's achievements in the cultural industries, a cultural flagship which brings about economic regeneration, a centre of

education to encourage excellence and innovation, or a heritage institution providing equal opportunities for a diverse society through maximising its accessibility. Compared with the implicit relation between the museum sector and the cultural and creative industries policies, it was in fact the emphasis on the part that culture could play in delivering the government's social agendas that genuinely affected the rationale for museums.

It is noted that the strategy for the contribution of culture in urban regeneration gradually shifted the focus of the 1980s on economic development towards a social dimension in the 1990s. The Labour government's commitment to neighbourhood renewal included the attempt to combat social exclusion where a Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) was set up in December 1997 to look at solutions to social problems across government departments. In line with the development of social inclusion policy, the role of culture and the arts in promoting social inclusion was emphasised by the government. The DCMS published the policy document *Centres for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All* (2000) to endorse the role of museums, galleries and archives in helping the government combat social exclusion (Belfiore, 2002; Lang, 2006; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006). It is worth noting here that the Labour government brought museums, galleries and archives together, thinking these institutions had certain common grounds. Based in England and sponsored by the DCMS, a body with the title "Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries" was set up in April 2000 as the leading agency, replacing the Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) and the Library and Information Commission (LIC) to work with and for museums, archives and libraries in England. As museums were considered agents of social change to contribute to the development of communities and individuals (DCMS, 2000), museums were suggested to focus on the assessment and development of strategy and practice in terms of access, information and communication technologies (ICTs), outreach activities, learning, community partnerships, and engagement with socially excluded groups, next to their traditional fields of work. Although this was not the first time the social impact of museums and the issue of access to cultural resources were concerned, the influence of New Labour's cultural policy was greater, as the social role of museums was explicitly promoted in terms of accountability, which related to

the justification of public funding. The following section outlines the consequence of New Labour's policy rationale for funding museums and galleries.

CULTURAL FUNDING AND PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

In general, New Labour's cultural policy in terms of museums has been more positively justified than that of the Conservatives. For example, with respect to developing access to culture, the Labour government took an approach of education rather than a technique of marketing (Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006). On the other hand, the legacy of the Conservatives was reflected in New Labour's funding strategy, where the effectiveness of public services has been a concern for both governments in terms of quality and, most importantly, value for money (Belfiore, 2002; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006).

Under New Labour, public funding was accompanied by requirements for helping implement the government's policies to achieve its objectives, with responsibilities written into funding agreements between funding bodies and those funded (Belfiore, 2002; Boylan, 2006): the DCMS's budget was informed by the Public Service Agreements, and in the same way, funding agreements which defined performance indicators, e.g. increasing public access, were produced for the sponsorship between the DCMS and DCMS-funded bodies. As the government's objectives were reflected in these funding agreements, it became apparent that the justification of cultural funding was in line with the government's priorities, e.g. its commitment to education, social inclusion and cultural diversity, to which cultural services, including publicly funded museums, were officially required to contribute (Humphreys, 2000; Buckingham and Jones, 2001; Belfiore, 2002; Lang, 2006; Lang, Reeve and Woollard, 2006; Shaw, 2006).

Likewise, New Labour's dedication to performance management, as well as its attempt at making the government's objectives of cultural provision recognised at local level, was reflected in 'Best Value', a framework for the management of local authority services introduced by the Local Government Act of 1999. Under 'Best Value', which emphasised the delivery of services based on 'users' needs', the provision of museums as part of local authority services was supported by regular user surveys. On the one hand, it aided the comprehension of public interest in, and measured public value of, the museum service; on the other

hand, 'Best Value' conveyed the message guiding the museum's planning and activity through funding towards the government's priorities (Creigh-Tyte and Selwood, 1998; Morris, 2005). For museums, being part of social policy was a way of enhancing their role within society and securing existing funding or access to potential resources (Newman and McLean, 2004; Tlili, 2008). Therefore, New Labour's policy rationale was strengthened by its principles of ensuring the value for public expenditure particularly. Its emphasis on public accountability in relation to the justification of funding caused the instrumentalisation of cultural policy, as happened in the 1980s, and most importantly, its rhetoric regarding the social role of museums brought about transformation in the UK's museum sector in recent years as well as arguments relating to the impact of museums, the instrumentality of cultural policy, and the gap between policy and practice, as demonstrated in Chapter Two.

Despite the instrumentality of cultural policy, it is argued that the arrival of New Labour was a turning point in the UK's development of cultural policy regarding museums since the 1960s because museums became a subject of strategic planning (Babbidge, 2005). However, the generation of cultural policy regarding museums seems to have echoed contemporary public discourses over particular issues, or often an additional product of other policy areas rather than a purposeful plan for museum development. Accordingly, the argument over resource allocation between national and regional museums in the late 1990s saw the provision of *Renaissance in the Regions* (2001) for an innovative invention of investing regional museums in England.

Renaissance in the Regions is regarded as a major advance in the development of cultural policy regarding museums, directed by Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries, which was given the new name, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), in February 2004. *Renaissance* offered recommendations akin to those in the 1963 Rosse Report, to improve nation-wide museum building at different levels on similar issues, such as the equity of public investment, e.g. funding distribution, the coordination between the museum sector and local authorities, and the cooperation of national and regional schemes for museum development. In addition, it particularly aimed at improving standards for regional museums. The standards demonstrated in the *Renaissance* programme, as how the culture sector as a whole was anticipated,

specifically included an objective of bringing profound influence of museums on the government's agendas concerning education, social inclusion and cohesion, urban regeneration and economic importance of the creative industries.

Renaissance was planned with nearly £150 million for allocation to England-based regional museums between 2002 and 2008 (MLA, 2006), and has been expected to achieve a total investment of approximately £300 million by March 2011 (MLA, 2009). It is thus seen as a success in substantial funding to support initiatives in a longer term (Babbidge, 2005), and its scale and contribution are often noted by Scottish non-national museums in the conception of Scotland's museum policy as discussed together with Scotland's Registration Scheme in the next chapter.

Overall, it is recognised that cultural policy development under New Labour was a recent breakthrough in terms of bringing the museum sector to the centre of policy thinking. Even though the government's policy did not directly apply in devolved Scotland, its ideas of creative economy, education, access and social inclusion were translated in Scottish cultural policy, which is outlined in the following sections.

THE INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF SCOTTISH NATIONAL CULTURAL POLICY

Steered by the earlier New Labour government, the difference of political consequences for the last two decades between Scotland and England, alongside the growing Scottish nationalism since the 1960s, led to the success of the Scottish devolution referendum in 1997, the setting of the Scotland Act in 1998 and the subsequent establishment of the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Executive in 1999. The Scottish Parliament is responsible for devolved subjects, while the UK Parliament remains responsible for legislation in reserved areas according to the Scotland Act 1998, in which only reserved matters³⁵ are specifically defined. Devolved subjects are then recognised as matters not reserved to the UK Parliament, covering local government and housing, justice and police, health and social work, education and training, the environment, agriculture, forestry and fisheries, economic development, domestic transport,

³⁵ Reserved matters include the constitution, taxation and economic management, energy regulation, UK single market, UK and international transport, immigration and nationality, social security, defence, national security and foreign affairs (including European Union negotiations).

tourism, sport and heritage. The establishment of the Scottish Executive following the first Scottish Parliament elections in 1999 was under a coalition of Labour and Liberal Democrats (LibDem), and the powers were transferred to the Scottish Ministers over devolved matters from the Secretary of State for Scotland and other UK Ministers (Scottish Office, 2008). In the period of 1999 to 2007, the Scottish Executive was formed by a Labour-LibDem coalition with Labour as the majority party under the Scottish Parliament elections of 1999 and 2003, and the reassignments due to the unfortunate death of the First Minister Donald Dewar in 2000. Following his successor Henry McLeish, Jack McConnell was appointed First Minister and led the Scottish Executive from 2001 to 2003. Jack McConnell continued in office from 2003 to 2007 after Labour's victory in the election of 2003. On the one hand, the dominance of Labour in Scottish politics as well as in UK politics during this period (1999-2007) aided the achievement of a degree of harmony in policy terms more than in the past. On the other hand, there was a specific focus on the national community in Scotland, which saw the development of modern Scottish national executive and legislative systems and powers.

The main development of the Scottish Executive's cultural policy in the beginning was the *National Cultural Strategy: Creating Our Future...Minding Our Past*, published in 2000. The objectives of the *National Cultural Strategy* included four main strands: creative economy, cultural heritage, culture's potential contribution to education and social inclusion, and national framework and support for cultural provision (Scottish Executive, 2000; Herbert, 2003). Here, the similarity of the Scottish Labour-LibDem government with the Labour government at Westminster is observed, given the Scottish Executive's attempt at enhancing the positive impact of culture in terms of creative economy, education and social inclusion nationally and locally. With regard to the national particularity, it raised the primary subjects of cultural heritage consisting of Scottish language, culture and history, together with the organisational structure of the Scottish cultural sector. It was approached by working with national cultural bodies and the 'National Institutions' to improve the presentation and delivery of Scottish cultural excellence. Thereby, the Scottish Arts Council (SAC), on behalf of the Scottish Executive, undertook a developmental role at both national and local levels, as well as acting as the main channel for central

government sponsorship, e.g. National Lottery funds, from the DCMS for culture and the arts in Scotland, including four national companies and over eighty cultural organisations. In addition, the Scottish Executive provided core funding to the 'National Institutions', containing the National Museums of Scotland, the National Galleries of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland - all were formed by statute and managed by the Boards of Trustees appointed by Scottish Ministers (Herbert, 2003).

Moreover, the *National Cultural Strategy* showed the Scottish Executive's intention to enhance understanding of local cultural needs as well as promote national-local cooperation for better public cultural service by means of working in collaboration with local authorities (Herbert, 2003; Scottish Executive, 2006). This objective was furthered by the investigation into the delivery of cultural services by local authorities which was reported in a Scottish Executive publication, *A survey of local authority provision for arts and culture* (2002) - this is demonstrated in conjunction with the discussion of Scotland's local provision for museum service in Chapter Six. The impact of the arts and culture on the development of local communities was addressed. Later, local authorities were provided with advice in *Implementation of the National Cultural Strategy: Guidance for Scottish Local Authorities* (2003) to perform towards the strategic objectives of the Scottish Executive's cultural policy.

Hence, it is comprehensible that the *National Cultural Strategy* of 2000 is fundamental to Scotland's post-devolution cultural policy development, with the priorities of distinguishing the essence of Scottish culture, realising the contribution of culture, as well as establishing working partnerships based on a national framework.

A SCOTTISH PERSPECTIVE ON MUSEUM POLICY

SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF MUSEUMS

The similarity of policy discourse in relation to museums between Scottish Labour-LibDem government and the Labour government at Westminster was particularly seen in the issue of social inclusion. While the Labour government

promoted museums as centres for social change, dedication to social inclusion was also emphasised in the Scottish Executive's political agenda and enhanced by the concept of social justice, reflected in the structural arrangement, including the Minister for Social Justice, who was also responsible for communities, the Scottish Executive Division and the Scottish Parliament Committee for social inclusion. In addition, 47 nationwide Social Inclusion Partnerships were created to bring together cross-sector agencies at different levels in Scotland (Newman and McLean, 2004). The SMC, the strategic body representing the majority of Scotland's museum sector, published the document *Museums and Social Justice: how museums and galleries can work for their whole communities* (2000) in response to the Scottish Executive's social policy. Regarding the relationship between social justice and the museum sector, the SMC explained that the concept of social justice, which was associated with the concept of social inclusion, was adopted because it believed that "an individual's ability to participate fully in and have access to his or her cultural heritage is a matter of basic human right, not welfare" (SMC, 2000, p. 3). For example, a review in Glasgow during 1998 and 1999 indicating the barriers to visiting museums, including a failure of communicating information to communities about free admission, was cited to demonstrate that a consequence of excluded experience may be attributed to a lack of access rather than a lack of interest (SMC, 2000, p. 6). Therefore, museums would have the responsibility to respond to the issue, and there was a need for developing policy for museums in Scotland to recognise the connection with cultural aspects of exclusion as well as to work with relevant bodies on the social justice agenda. In particular, it was noted that a distinctive setting in terms of the priorities of social policy issues was required to apply to Scotland, considering a different social framework in Scotland, such as the percentage of ethnic minorities in the population (SMC, 2000).³⁶

In the following years, social inclusion remained a major policy concern of the Scottish Executive for culture. A number of studies were undertaken or commissioned to address the social dimension of culture by the Education Department, of which culture was included in the scope. Social research reports

³⁶ By that time, ethnic minorities included 1.1% of the population in Scotland, compared with 6.5% of the population in the UK as a whole (SMC, 2000, p. 6).

such as *A Literature Review of the Evidence Base for Culture, the Arts and Sport Policy* (Ruiz, 2004) and *Quality of Life and Well-Being: Measuring the Benefits of Culture and Sport - A Literature Review* (Galloway, Birkin, Hamilton, Petticrew and Bell, 2006), involved a review of a range of key studies, mostly since the mid-1990s, on the social and economic impact of culture, the arts and sport. Both reviews were intended to add to the evidence base for Scottish policy development through reviewing, whereas the reports pointed to the gap between individual evidence and limitations of investigating the contribution of culture, the arts and sport.

Here, it is noticeable that the Scottish Executive and the New Labour government at Westminster had conceptual similarities in policy statements, despite limited differences, in terms of policy concern for the contribution of culture, particularly in response to a social inclusion/justice agenda. While the social importance of museums was emphasised and different policy areas were interlinked, another focus of fundamental importance to the Scottish Executive was to ascertain Scotland's national scope and framework for the devolved subjects.

NATIONAL SURVEY OF SCOTTISH MUSEUMS

In 2002, the Scottish Executive launched a national consultation to develop an action plan for museums in Scotland, following the results of the *National Audit of Scotland's Museums and Galleries* (2002) published by the SMC on behalf of the Scottish Executive. The *National Audit*, an outcome of the *National Cultural Strategy*, was the first national survey of museum service in devolved Scotland, covering an overview of cultural heritage held in museums and galleries, and linking to their contribution to society (SMC, 2002a). Based on the evidence provided in the *National Audit*, it was believed that in the public domain there was a need to develop a coherent national policy framework and funding models for Scotland's museums. The final product of the consultation was *An Action Framework for Museums*, published in August 2003. This report demonstrated the demand of Scotland's museums for clarifying the aspects of roles and structures, funding, the wider contribution and professional issues, as well as the Scottish Executive's response to the consultation on a basis of existing

resources and a commitment to the context of *A Partnership for a Better Scotland* (PABS) (Scottish Executive, 2003) - this is also outlined in the following section.

A wider context of cultural policy, structures and funding arrangements was suggested for consideration by the sector in this consultation. For example, it was proposed to have a new representative agency playing “the role of Resource³⁷ in Scotland” (Scottish Executive, 2003, p. 4) to undertake the responsibilities for regional development strategies, grants-in-aid and professional development, as well as for national performance standards and provision of advice and expertise in cooperation with national bodies and the English and Welsh counterparts. The role of such a new agency was considered with the possible expansion of the SMC, whereas it was recognised that the SMC “being a membership organisation would compromise this role” (Scottish Executive, 2003, p. 4).

Although the sector’s responses to the consultation were acknowledged, in this *Action Framework* the Scottish Executive focused on the provision of immediate action with existing resources to create a regional development network with the setup of the Regional Development Challenge Fund (RDCF). The RDCF supported partnership projects through annual funding of up to £100,000 for each partnership over three years, which was also contributed to by a reposition of part of the resources from the Strategic Change Fund (SCF) - a funding stream launched in 2002 in line with the *National Cultural Strategy* to provoke strategic changes in the museum sector through a distribution of over £1,500,000 through the SMC. Compared with multidimensional developments involved in the scope of the SCF, the design of RDCF to form the regional development network was mainly to endorse active partnerships across public, private and voluntary sectors connecting national and non-national bodies through regional museum development officers. While the SCF and RDCF continued in the following three to four years, other concerns for structural improvements were involved within the development of wider cultural infrastructure and so addressed in different ways. The next section outlines cultural policy development under the second

³⁷ Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries (later the MLA) is the UK government’s agency for museums, galleries, archives and libraries, delivering strategic leadership in England and in English regions.

McConnell government (2003-2007) from the agreement of the PABS, highlighting the relations to the museum sector.

THE BLUEPRINT FOR MUSEUMS IN “SCOTLAND’S CULTURE”

As national framework and support for cultural provision became one of the most important subjects of Scotland’s national cultural policy, the Scottish Executive focused on the development of a working programme with action plans across the range of policy areas. The aforementioned PABS agreement, a joint statement agreed in May 2003 by the two parties in alliance, contained a vision of the governance relating to organisations, structures, responsibilities and funding in terms of the arts, culture and the creative industries through a subsequent consultation process:

We will consult on the future governance of the arts, culture and the creative industries in Scotland. We will look at the creation of a single cultural organisation for Scotland. This will include a review of the structure and purpose of the Scottish Arts Council as well as the other national and regional cultural bodies and companies. It will look at the future role and funding of the arts in Scotland. (Scottish Labour Party and Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2003, p. 43)

In addition, as local authorities in Scotland are responsible for directly delivering services of libraries, museums and galleries, the PABS agreement also included museums in support for local authorities:

We will support local authorities and others who are bringing cultural opportunities to our towns, cities and rural communities. We will continue to support investment in our libraries and museums. (Scottish Labour Party and Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2003, p. 43)

The 2003 PABS led to a cultural review in Scotland. The Cultural Commission was set up in April 2004 to review the cultural sector, provide recommendations to Scottish Ministers and provoke a dialogue between the cultural sector and the Scottish Executive. The Cultural Commission’s final report *Our Next Major Enterprise* was published in June 2005. In response to the findings of the cultural review, the Scottish Executive outlined in the publication *Scotland’s Culture* (2006) the government’s vision for the cultural sector and the direction of cultural policy. In particular, a new cultural infrastructure model was proposed to achieve the government’s vision. The key solutions within this model included

three major cultural provisions for which the central government was responsible (Scottish Executive, 2006, p. 29):

- To recognise and nurture Scotland's cultural talent;
- To promote the best of Scotland's cultural treasures in the care of the National Collections; and
- To make the best of the nation's performing activity available through the work of the national performing arts companies.

With regard to the museum sector, the first two means of delivery are noted in this research. The first approach, "to recognise and nurture Scotland's cultural talent", appeared to be a combination of policy thinking in terms of the creative industries and education. While the initial step was to develop programmes in relation to education, such as *A Curriculum for Excellence*, incorporating cultural engagement and creativity within school teaching and learning, the most significant initiative was the establishment of Creative Scotland, by merging the SAC and Scottish Screen.³⁸ The new national body and Lottery Funds distributor was envisaged with a broad remit of supporting cultural and creative development, e.g. national standards and guidance for cultural delivery bodies, such as local authorities.

Although Creative Scotland was considered a unified agency for national cultural strategies, the second infrastructure, the National Collections, was also designated an equally significant role in cultural development. The National Collections bodies involved the three National Institutions, the National Museums of Scotland, the National Galleries of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland (including the Scottish Screen Archive), as well as the National Archives of Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). These bodies were categorised together by recognising their public functions of conserving and displaying Scotland's cultural treasures. Retaining their independent status, the National Collections bodies were thought to be the main contributor to the development of national standards and local

³⁸ As proposed, the SAC and Scottish Screen were combined into Creative Scotland, except for SAC's remit of funding the national performing arts companies being transferred to the Scottish Executive and the responsibility for the Scottish Screen Archive being passed from Scottish Screen to the National Library of Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2006).

cultural entitlements - a clearer mechanism of ensuring the delivery of cultural services at local level being considered. As proposed, the early step was to establish a forum to gather reflections in terms of collaborative working relationships, i.e. sharing resources and good practices regarding common functions among these bodies, such as estates, administration, marketing, ICTs and digitisation, and touring so as to improve efficiency of delivery (Scottish Executive, 2006, p. 36). The relation of the National Collections (or the national performing arts companies) to the remit of Creative Scotland was only sketchily proposed by regarding the National Collections bodies (or the national performing arts companies) as a stage where Scotland's cultural and creative talent can be presented to an international scope (Scottish Executive, 2006, p. 33).

In relation to the strand of the National Collections, non-national museums were taken into account within the Scottish Executive's determination of supporting collections of 'national significance' and improving public access to these collections. Intent on clarifying the relationship with the museum sector at different levels, the Scottish Executive proposed to enhance the delivery of central grants-in-aid to non-national museums in Scotland by cooperating with the SMC. The commitment was to provide direct support to non-national museums via the SMC, with additional annual funding of £500,000 over the following two years for arranging a new recognition scheme, which was anticipated to enable a sum of £940,000 to be channelled annually to non-national museums (Scottish Executive, 2006, p. 38). Besides new funding mechanisms, cooperation between national and local level bodies was promoted. While the National Collections bodies were concerned with a national role in offering professional advice and assistance for the sector, the focus on collections of 'national significance' also linked national and local bodies in order to deliver "national and international status and recognition" and "outreach, education, and touring of items in the Collections" (Scottish Executive, 2006, p. 49). For that, digital access became an area of interest, so that a need for a combination with electronic policy to develop ICTs and digitisation in the sector was apparent. As demonstrated so far, the National Collections infrastructure proposed in the 2006 *Scotland's Culture* seems to be

the most straightforward direction in the course of cultural policy development concerning Scotland's museum sector in the post-devolution period.

A number of policy statements in the *Scotland's Culture* document have been carried on step by step since then. The Draft Culture (Scotland) Bill published in December 2006 included six principal provisions, two of which were directly related to the museum sector: "the governing legislation of the bodies referred to as the National Collections" and "changes to the law connected with the management of museums and libraries" (Scottish Executive, 2007, p. 2). Some of the ideas in *Scotland's Culture*, especially the need for legislation, were put forward with practical details in the Draft Culture Bill. First, for the purpose of encouraging local cultural participation and development, there was a need to reform the law of cultural services to develop a model of cultural entitlements involved in the wider cultural planning situated in each local area. The second was legislation for the establishment of Creative Scotland. Third, the governing legislation for the National Collections needed to be modernised to upgrade their efficiency of service and cooperation with each other. However, the Draft Culture Bill was not entirely taken forward as proposed since the SNP came to power in May 2007.

The SNP carried on the consultation of the same Draft Culture Bill, had the report of response published in August 2007 and introduced a Creative Scotland Bill (2008) to the Scottish Parliament. The SNP government's cultural policy at first included a commitment to "widening access to culture and the arts" to promote a better link between cultural activities and a wider community, and an attempt to retain and encourage creative talent and professional practitioners in and to Scotland for "fostering creative economy". First, to enhance access to cultural resources, the SNP's approach was to advance partnerships with pilot projects for several local authorities in the Cultural Pathfinder Programme, in order to ascertain cultural provision within the community planning process. These Pathfinder projects focused on cultural participation and enhancement of the role played by local authorities in cultural delivery across Scotland. Through the Cultural Pathfinders, the SNP expected to bring a shared experience of widening access to culture, and contribute to developing cultural policy framework that highlighted the importance of culture in the lives of communities and individuals. Second, the SNP recognised the significance of the

creative industries to the Scottish economy. In this respect, the SNP emphasised its support for creative people through education and employment. Besides, legislation for the establishment of a new national body succeeding the functions of the Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Screen, and given the remit for the creative industries, the Creative Scotland Bill, was introduced in March 2008, and later considered within the Public Services Reform Bill. Meanwhile, preparatory arrangements were in place, including the setup of an interim company, Creative Scotland 2009 Ltd., and the appointments of Chair and the Board (SNP, 2007; Scottish Government, 2008, 2009a, 2010a). Creative Scotland was formally established as a non-departmental public body (NDPB) on 1st July 2010, whose functions were set out in the Public Services Reform (Scotland) Act of 2010, focusing on investing in the development of quality production, talent, audiences, access and participation, and commercial opportunities across a range of activities, e.g. crafts, creative industries, dance, drama, literature, music, screen, visual arts, the Innovation Fund and filming in Scotland (Creative Scotland, 2010; Scottish Government, 2010b).

Despite the progress of setting up Creative Scotland, statements in *Scotland's Culture* were considered in different ways under the SNP. For example, instead of developing the model of cultural entitlements pursued under the Labour-LibDem coalition, the SNP launched a National Performance Framework to create a single reporting line for Scotland's public services sector - this development, along with other institutional issues, is detailed in the following chapter.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined a history of Scotland's museum development in relation to the political, economic and social environments of Scotland within a UK context. It has indicated the changes in the perceptions of museums through time, which provide a useful way of understanding museums in Scotland and matters relating to policy for the sector at the present time.

In this chapter, contemporary accounts of museums which were previously noted in Chapter Two seem to be found in the course of history. In contrast to the

history of museum development in Taiwan, as outlined in the previous chapter, which began from the public sector and was to a great extent driven by political forces, this chapter has shown that the institution of museums in the UK initially derived from antiquarianism and was related to the intellectual circle. The early history of museums in relation to knowledge development helps explain why museums have been known for their educational purpose and perceived as a centre of knowledge - thereby, the work of museums has been connected to the management of knowledge in the framework of the new museology. Then, in the liberal climate of the second half of the nineteenth century, museums' educational function was accentuated in consideration of their possible contribution to industrial achievements so as to demonstrate Britain's economic capacity as well as British nationhood internationally. Despite elitism behind such an ideological change, the public role of museums developed, such as in the reform of the working class lifestyle, conveying a degree of social values. Here, the rational view of museums in the Victorian period verifies a tradition of instrumental policy-making in the UK, and seems to provide a basis of connecting museums with inspiring industrial creativity and combating social problems in modern terms. Next, the expansion of the museum sector was influenced by the heritage conservation movement. While the attention to heritage since the late nineteenth century was a response to societal developments such as industrialisation and urbanisation, the museum boom since the 1960s - mostly an effort of the independent sector - was the result of an increased public interest in heritage conservation born of concern for the wartime damage of natural and cultural environments and the gradual disappearance of traditions. Museums, therefore, have been seen with a role of helping people adjust in the process of change and bridging the present to the past. Looking at museums in this way allows for a return to the previous discussion of how contemporary museums are perceived as facilitators in the process of identity formation, which prompts wider impacts concerned with issues such as social inclusion, active citizenship, community development, cultural diversity and cultural tourism.

What has changed remarkably is a greater influence of political ideology on the development of museums, where wider outcomes have become the baseline for justifying the value of museums in policy initiatives in recent decades. The New

Right's philosophy and practice was no doubt the trigger. On an ideological level, a noticeable shift was the commodification of culture and heritage, which shaped museums with marketable value in addition to their importance in education and conservation. On an institutional level, the issue of accountability for public service institutions was raised, where financial efficiency was considered an element of quality service, bringing an entrepreneurial culture into museums. Compared with the Conservatives' approach to the popularisation of culture through marketing, New Labour's focus on widening access to culture was interconnected to their economic and social agendas, among which the social inclusion policy was primarily concerned with the museum sector. It should not be forgotten that by the end of 1980s there was also a call for the re-examination of the role of museums in society in the field of museum studies, where increasing attention was given to the conceptualisation of the work of museums in relation to their situated environments. However, it was New Labour's policy discourse that prioritised the social accountability of museums, which was bound by public funding. The conceptual shift towards 'exchange-value' (Gray, 2007, p. 207) - money in exchange for greater effects justified by the government - has become a marker for the instrumentalisation of cultural policy (see Chapter Two), which is significant to the understanding of museum policy developments in contemporary Scotland.

Generally speaking, reviewing a history of the role of museums in the UK as a whole reflects the development of Scotland's museum sector. Yet some historical circumstances regarding the development of Scottish nationalism outlined in this chapter have indicated the distinction of Scotland, which had been emphasised to a varying extent and from a different view in relation to the political situation at a time. The political dimension of Scottish nationalism appears to be reflected in the creation of a number of 'national' museums or heritage organisations, such as, most recently, the opening of the National Museum of Scotland in 1998 to preserve Scottish history and culture as well as celebrate a new Scottish identity (Economist, 1998). Scottish nationalism has developed from a unionist viewpoint concerning Scotland's equal position in the political partnership with England, towards a nationalist argument for the quest of Scottish solutions to Scottish problems. However, policy decisions on cultural

matters in post-devolutionary Scotland seemed to mirror those at Westminster despite different justifications. Given that, the change of Scottish government in May 2007 marked a noticeable difference from previous administration (further discussed in the following chapter). This has increased the political divergence between Scotland and the UK. In addition, while the Conservatives won the UK general election of 2010 and subsequently formed a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats, Labour retained the majority in Scotland. Although this thesis has not been able to examine the impact of this political change, there is different political orientation in Scotland from the rest of Britain, which may result in diverse approaches and calls for greater Scottish autonomy given the causes and consequences of the political division during the 1980s through the 1990s, and the growth of the Scottish government since devolution.

The respective historical analyses of Taiwan and Scotland in Chapters Four and Five have established the link between museums and their national contexts, and identified the essential concepts behind cultural policy decisions. Prior to scrutinising historical relevance to contemporary museums in the case studies, this thesis now turns to the exploration of current national approaches to governance for the museum sector in order to discover structural factors underlying the dynamics of policy processes in Taiwan and Scotland.

Chapter Six :

INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES BEHIND CULTURAL POLICY

In policy terms, museums are usually divided into categories of national museums, local authority museums, university museums and independent museums, which refer to a museum's level of financing, along with the exclusive kind of regimental museums which are part of the national defence system. This chapter focuses on the governance of publicly funded museums in Taiwan and Scotland. This is demonstrated by the positions of museums within public sector structures, museums' relations with relevant bodies, the role of these bodies and national approaches to museum governance, whereby concerns about standards and resources for museums are pointed out and discussed with prospects of policy development currently under the KMT government in Taiwan and the SNP administration in Scotland.

MUSEUM GOVERNANCE IN TAIWAN

PUBLIC SECTOR STRUCTURE

In the current public system, responsibility for culture remains divided and to some extent overlaps between separate departments. According to departmental missions and executive duties, many central public bodies under the Executive Yuan are delegated the remit for various matters relating to culture and the arts, as shown in Table 6-1.³⁹ The Executive Yuan itself has six corresponding teams dealing with inputs and outputs from and to these bodies on different areas of national policy; the Sixth Team is in charge of matters relating to education, culture, sport, broadcasting, technology, etc.

³⁹ Table 6-1 illustrates the status quo until 2010, while a Public Reform Act was passed in January 2010 which will enact the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in January 2012 and make an obvious change in cultural infrastructure. For example, the Government Information Office will be abolished, with its responsibility for media being transferred to the forthcoming Ministry of Culture, which is expanded from the current Council for Cultural Affairs.

Table 6-1 Ministerial-level bodies delegated responsibilities for cultural affairs in Taiwan (2008-2009)

Bodies	Responsibility regarding culture
Council for Cultural Affairs*	
First Department	Formulation of cultural policy (legislation and cultural projects) Coordination and evaluation of cultural policy Cultural facilities and activities in general Cultural talent development Cultural business in general Museums (since January 2008)
Second Department	Libraries and informative mechanisms of culture Collection and research Integrated community building <i>'Museums of Local Culture'</i> campaign
Third Department	Cultural affairs for citizens abroad International cultural exchange Visual arts Performing arts
13 Subordinate organisations	Including the Headquarters for Administration of Cultural Heritage (HACH), four national museums, and so on
Ministry of Education*	
Department of Social Education	Life-long learning networks for citizens through social education institutes (e.g. libraries, museums, arts education centres, science education centres, national social education centres) Taiwanese cultural development
Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations	International cultural and educational collaboration International cultural exchange
Government Information Office*	Development of the mass media (including the film, television and publishing industries)
Ministry of Economic Affairs*	
Industrial Development Bureau	Development of the digital content industries Development of the cultural and creative industries in partnership with industries, the academic sector and governmental departments
Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Department of Information and Cultural Affairs	International cultural exchange
Ministry of Transportation and Communications: Tourism Bureau	Tourism
National Science Council	Academic research and special funds for national development projects in a creative context
Council of Agriculture	Local natural and cultural environment relating to agriculture, fishery, forestry, etc.; eco-tourism

(*incorporated in the cross-departmental team on the cultural and creative industries development)

The contradiction seems particularly obvious for the museum sector due to the subordinate relationships with different governmental departments. Since the categories of museums refer to the levels of core funding, obviously there are differences with regard to the allocation of public resources to the museum sector. The status quo in Taiwan is that national museums benefit most from public money while independent museums benefit the least. As previously outlined, the Ministry of Education retained the authority of governing museums until reform in the late 1990s, where part of the responsibility for the sector gradually shifted to the hands of the CCA. Most national museums are now under the governance of the Ministry of Education or the CCA.⁴⁰ These national museums are influenced by policies and practices of their governing bodies. This is to say that the scope of the governing bodies has an effect on the provision of resources to the museums, so the status of the main governing body is a key to understanding how and to what extent a museum is concerned in the context of government policy. An exception is the National Palace Museum, which is subordinate to the Executive Yuan - an equal status as a Ministry,⁴¹ and whose Director is appointed by the Premier in every Cabinet reshuffle. Therefore, the provision of its core funding is more direct and independent in comparison with public subsidies for other national museums at lower tiers within the bureaucracy (see further discussion in Chapter Seven).

With the localisation movement during the 1980s through the 1990s, the level of local autonomy was increased; local governments were given greater powers over educational and cultural matters by the Local Government Act of 1999, with subsequent amendments. The subordinate relationships between local authority museums and the cultural departments of local authorities are similar to those at central level. In that case, operational efficiency of local museums

⁴⁰ A few exceptions include the Postal Museum under the Ministry of Transportation and Communication, and the Armed Forces Museum under the Ministry of National Defense, which serve as an extension of these public services and a presentation of the evolution of these Ministries.

⁴¹ To clarify, while the Executive Yuan is on the top of the current central administrative system of the Republic of China (Taiwan), under the Executive Yuan there are several second-tiered bodies including eight Ministries and 31 ministerial-level organisations, e.g. the CCA and the National Palace Museum, within which there are third-tiered executive departments and bureaus, as well as subordinate institutions, including most national museums.

has the same bureaucratic problems as national museums. Depending on local cultural resources, the museum scene in each local district can be fairly diverse in terms of governance, cultural strategy and the network of museums. For example, the I-Lan Museum Association in the county of I-Lan involves publicly funded museums and independent museums, foundations, schools, communities and local industries countywide. This has been regarded as a successful model of the grassroots movement and integration of local museum resources in Taiwan (Lu, 2002; Hsu, 2003b). In Taipei City, on the other hand, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum is the only museum directly funded by the Taipei City Government. In recent years, in response to the trend of cultural heritage conservation, as previously demonstrated in Chapter Four, as well as the advocacy of the new public management, 'privatisation' has become an important concept of the Taipei City Government's cultural strategy to manage cultural facilities that are transformed from heritage sites into venues with museum functions, such as the Taipei Museum of Contemporary Arts and the Taipei Story House - the case of the Taipei Story House is studied in the next chapter. Therefore, the museum scene at local level is subject to how urban/rural planners or local authorities recognise the unique characteristics of their environments and create local cultural strategies for museums. In addition to local authority resources, public subsidies provided by the central government are another important source for museum development at local level, as shown in Chapter Four that the CCA's community-oriented policy has significantly contributed to local cultural development. The channels of cultural funding for local development are discussed further in the next section.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR LOCAL CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Central funding for local cultural development was distributed mainly through local cultural centres, which were part of the educational system in earlier times. While the functions of local cultural centres for exhibitions and performances have become embedded in the *Museums of Local Culture* through the community building movement (see Chapter Four), the role of local cultural centres in the provision of cultural services has formed the base of cultural departments of local authorities these days. Prior to 2001, the relationship between the CCA and local cultural centres was based on grant-awarding on a

project basis. In 2001, the government launched a new financing system whereby part of public subsidies distributed by different Ministries or ministerial-level bodies are put together to allocate to local authorities. Local authorities have the right to decide the use of this grant-in-aid for locally determined priorities, meaning cultural services may or may not benefit from this funding. The purpose of such a central-local unified budget is to enhance the efficiency of funding distribution for local needs as well as to lessen the power of individual Ministries or ministerial-level bodies over local districts. Although the CCA has no direct administrative relationship with local cultural departments as other ministries have with equivalent local authority departments, the CCA now holds two conferences per year involving all local cultural departments to discuss policy issues. In addition to funding, the CCA provides assistance for local cultural services by means of training and consultations, where workshops for professional development in areas such as community building, theatre management and museum management are offered, supported by mobile advisory delegates and subordinate national institutions to facilitate the guidance process. While advisory delegates reach local areas and cooperate with local authorities, national institutions located nationwide act as regional hubs where either local groups take the initiative in seeking help and advice, or national institutions incorporate community resources into their business plans. The major funding streams to support the non-national sector in recent years include the aforementioned administrative schemes, e.g. the *Community Infrastructure Establishment* and the *Museums of Local Culture*, and small grants awarded for festival projects. Nevertheless, the provision of cultural funding through the CCA has been argued concerning the independence of culture from politics.

In order to affirm the government's role in assisting cultural development and prevent political intervention in culture, the Statute for Encouraging the Development of Culture and the Arts was endorsed to ascertain 1% of public infrastructure budget in the use of public arts and create a new funding system via a publicly funded independent company. Modelled on the US's National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) was established as an independent agency in 1996 with a NT\$2 billion fund from the government via the CCA. The NCAF is dedicated to supporting the

development of culture and the arts through offering grants for cultural projects, sponsoring individual artists, awarding prizes, organising events and promoting cooperation between the cultural and business sectors. Its operational fund has been endowed by annual funding from the CCA, fundraising and investment. However, a contradiction in terms of the position of the NCAF has arisen as the CCA's executive role has been developed in conjunction with the amendment of the Statute for Encouraging the Development of Culture and the Arts, where the NCAF was conceived, endorsing a direct role of the CCA in cultural funding. As a result, there has been a doubling framework for national funding, leading to a level of overlapped functions and duplicated procedures. In addition, the restructuring of the administrative system has been leaning towards a unified central authority for culture. While the NCAF continues to provide small grants to cultural projects despite financial struggle caused by economic recession in recent years, the trend of centralisation over cultural matters has made the grounds for the NCAF - supporting cultural development with minimal political interference - questionable, as argued by Han Pao-Teh, the former chairperson of the Board of Directors of the NCAF and a former museum director:

Although the abolishment of NCAF was once suggested to allow a sole funding framework for culture managed by the CCA, the government has shown general agreement about continuing the NCAF. However, it should be better understood what the motive for the Statute for Encouraging the Development of Culture and the Arts and the rationale for establishing the NCAF really were. If the NCAF is retained, a legislative provision is required to ascertain its position independent from the government to realise its functions. If the CCA is given greater responsibility for cultural funding, which is open to debate, the NCAF should be abolished through a regular procedure. The doubling funding framework through an independent agency and the central authority is a trick where cultural development without political intervention is simply an illusion. (Han, 2006, p. 155)

Here, the situation of the NCAF reveals that the issue of political interference is generally concerned. The issue has been taken into account in the continuing public reform, where different models of new public management have been invented and piloted in the process, although centralisation seems to be the definite direction considering the government's promise of a Ministry of Culture - this is discussed further in the next section. The contradiction also uncovers a mixed nature of governance and cultural policy in Taiwan: in addition to the US model of an independent national agency for culture, a Ministry of

Culture is conceived in line with the infrastructures of the UK, some European countries (e.g. France and Denmark), and neighbouring Asian countries (e.g. Japan) according to the CCA's *White Paper on Culture* of 2004 (CCA, 2004b). However, speaking of museum governance, it is only recently that the CCA has appeared in the picture. The CCA's responsibility for museums is no doubt developing, yet has not entirely replaced the role of the Ministry of Education in museum governance. To comprehend the structural problems in the policy process, the next part compares the governance of national museums under the Ministry of Education and the CCA to examine the respective strength or weakness and the reform direction of authority over museum matters.

THE GOVERNANCE OF NATIONAL MUSEUMS

MUSEUMS AND THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

The supervisory responsibility for museums of the Ministry of Education is bound by the Social Education Act. National museums⁴² in its remits are defined as a kind of social education institution. The museums have a share of resources distributed through the Department of Social Education on behalf of the Ministry. The Department of Social Education offers grants to subordinate institutions for the alignment of work towards educational objectives. Museums would have the sense to link their strategies with educational policy and participate in social education programmes with grants to receive additional funding. These social education programmes also provide support for supplementary education, adult education and other social education services (see Table 6-1 above).

As museums are implicitly defined in law, some institutions in the context of social education lie in grey areas of being recognised as museums or educational facilities in the process of public reform. For example, although the National Taiwan Science Education Center and the National Taiwan Arts Education Center have museum functions of collection and exhibition and the same commitment to social education, they are different from national museums in terms of organisational structure and the focus of service provision. Also, the National Dr.

⁴² These include the National Museum of History, National Museum of Prehistory, National Museum of Natural Science, National Science and Technology Museum, and National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium.

Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Hall and the National Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall are both multi-functional institutions which have museum characteristics to serve their memorial purpose. These museum-like institutions are sometimes labelled 'quasi-museums'. In the view of the Ministry of Education, all national museums and quasi-museums play a role in social education through exhibition and activities, and are all governed by the Social Education Act; thereby, support for them is considered at the same level.

Compared with the small-scale CCA, the Ministry of Education is a large Ministry with abundant resources. However, this also means that the resources are shared by a greater range of business areas. The Ministry of Education provides core funding annually to each national museum it is responsible for, yet the figures of annual funding in the past few years appear practically fixed. While the government was preparing to undertake public reform by experimenting with new models of public management, the Ministry of Education created a new mechanism to revitalise museum financing by launching the National Social Education Institutions Operation Fund in 2007, whereby separate funds were set up for four national museums, one national education centre (quasi-museum) and one national library.⁴³ Prior to the introduction of the Operation Fund, the income of these national institutions, e.g. earnings from admission charges, were paid into the state treasury, having no direct effect on their core funding. By contrast, the Operation Fund, which imitates the National Universities Service Fund, requires these institutions to self-source 15% of their overall budget, whereby the income will be in their own use. It depends on the statistics of self-fundraising rates out of revenue and expenditure over the past few years to decide whether the Operation Fund is a practical solution for a museum. Although a degree of financial responsibility is given to these institutions, there is an assurance that public subsidy will be maintained at the same range. Therefore, it seems generally accepted by the piloted institutions so far, and the Ministry of Education is positive about applying the Fund more widely in the future.

⁴³ In the financial year of 2007 the Operation Fund was set up for the National Social Education Institutions, including the National Museum of Natural Science, National Science and Technology Museum, and National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium, and has been further improved for the financial year of 2008 to involve the National Museum of History, National Taiwan Science Education Center and National Taiwan Library in support of their operation (DGBAS, Executive Yuan, 2007).

MUSEUMS AND THE COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS

In addition to the history of the Ministry of Education in museum governance, a growing responsibility for museums has been appointed to the reforming CCA. Preparatory work for a unified executive body for culture enhanced from the CCA begun in 1992. In the process, the authority of some national cultural institutions was transferred to or established under the CCA. In the current stage, the CCA is responsible for ten national institutions including four national museums.⁴⁴ Unlike the Ministry of Education, whose strategic policies bring resources for museum development, the CCA has failed to consider this aspect. In particular, while the CCA has gradually transformed from an advisory agency to an executive body, its organisational structure has had little variation and its budget has had disproportionately a small increase given its extended areas of work. Therefore, there appears an obvious difference in terms of resources in the respective governance structure of national museums. The difference can be seen in the size and hard infrastructure of the museum: national museums under the Ministry of Education are large-scale and they are all purpose-built new constructions, while recently-established national museums under the CCA are small to medium-scale, either being housed in a listed historic building with limited space or having exhibition rooms smaller than some major municipal museums.

At first, matters relating to museums were included in the context of cultural heritage in the CCA's remit. Although the CCA provides core funding to the four national museums, its role in supporting sector development is still growing since 'museums' are a relatively new undertaking for the CCA. For example, the CCA has been the primary source of funding for the National Taiwan Museum; however, apart from financial support, the CCA has had relatively little input in the Museum's development, which was said to depend mostly on internal professionals and external consultants (Museum Manager A, 2009). Since 1st January 2008, in coordination with the CCA's internal adjustments, cultural heritage has been exercised by a newly established Headquarters for

⁴⁴ These include the National Taiwan Museum and National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts transferred from the educational system of the Provincial administration following the streamlining of the Taiwan Provincial government in 1998 (as explained in Chapter Four), as well as the National Museum of Taiwanese Literature, opened in 2003, and National Museum of Taiwan History, opened in 2007.

Administration of Cultural Heritage (HACH). In relation to this change, museum affairs - previously part of the cultural heritage context - became an independent area of operation within the CCA, whereby the governance of museums began to show improvement from the CCA's perspective. In addition to encouraging international cooperation and exchange within the museum sector, the CCA's agendas for museums focus on planning, formulation and delivery of a specific Museum Act - a task transferred from the Ministry of Education in 2002 and progressed on and off since the 1980s. While the CCA is delegated the responsibility for the making and implementation of the Museum Act, a principle of separate governance structures of national museums has been considered in the process of change, whereby both authorities have responsibilities for national museums in line with the subject of the museum. It is expected that the developing Museum Act will clarify the scope of museums. The change of museum governance is then associated with the restructuring of the central administrative system, including the establishment of the Ministry of Culture.

PUBLIC REFORM AND PRIVATISATION IN TAIWAN

THE REFORM OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

As demonstrated in Chapter Four, there are a few breakthroughs in cultural policy development which are practically related to the museum sector. However, the path of structural reform cannot catch up with policy development in cultural terms. New cultural policies together with advanced cultural projects are applied, while fundamental contradictions in terms of the division of policy and public resources for culture still exist in the public administrative system. To improve efficiency of public services, the government has been engaging in a process of governmental reform. In 2001 the Office of the President set up a committee in response to advice from the Economic Development Advisory Committee to launch public reform with respect to administrative structure, personnel system, devolution and cooperation, parliamentary functions and a service-oriented mechanism. The priority is organisational restructuring of the Executive Yuan. In 2002 the Executive Yuan formed an agency to examine the organisational framework and monitor coordination during the reform process,

focusing on public-private partnerships, central-local partnerships and functional modifications of central administration.

THE UPCOMING MINISTRY OF CULTURE

It was previously mentioned that a principal of separate museum governance structures has been considered, yet the overall structure will depend on the organisation of a new Ministry of Culture and the definition set by the Museum Act in progress. The passing of the Public Reform Act on 12th January 2010 confirmed the establishment of the Ministry of Culture. The new structure of the Executive Yuan will be valid from 1st January 2012; current central bodies will be modernised with a total of 14 Ministries and 15 ministerial-level agencies. Following further legislation, the CCA has carried on planning for its organisational extension to accommodate and relocate the existing and additional remits. In the previous legislative process, culture was considered in combination with tourism to form the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, within which there would be a department specifically in charge of museum matters, including the governance of all national museums. However, it was considered impractical due to the limit of the maximum amount of subordinate institutions. Therefore, the suggestion of separate governance structures was made, where museums in the catalogues of humanity, arts or history are or will be governed by the CCA (or the future Ministry of Culture) whilst museums of science, nature and education stay in governance under the Ministry of Education.

In 2007, the Executive Yuan primarily considered the reallocation of responsibilities for the existing national institutions in the context of social education, concluding that libraries would remain in the scope of education and ten institutions would be relocated to the portfolio of the CCA. Four National Social Education Centers were first transferred to the CCA and re-defined as National Living Art Centers in 2008. In addition, there has been continuing ministerial-level coordination regarding the shift of governing authority over the National Museum of History and the National Museum of Prehistory from the Ministry of Education to the CCA. In that case, if the current unofficially agreed principle of separate governance is finalised, the Ministry of Education may claim authority over the National Taiwan Museum, which owns an extraordinary collection of Taiwan's natural history derived from the Japanese colonial

period - this is further discussed in the case study in Chapter Seven. However, it was noted that the shift of governing authority regarding museums or quasi-museums was very much related to the Ministers or chairpersons in charge. For instance, the decision to transfer the four National Social Education Centers was directed by the Education Minister at that time in light of primary strategic objectives and core business areas of the Ministry of Education, even though there were some disagreements from social education professionals and the academic sector (Senior Executive of the Ministry of Education, 2009). Hence, the principle of separate museum governance seems to be a compromise in response to the current circumstances of public reform.

Uncertainty also exists in the scope of the Ministry of Culture. The idea of combining culture with tourism was still clear during the desk research period (2007-2008) but was rejected at the end of 2008. During the main interviewing period (January-February 2009) some respondents were aware of the 'possibility', saying it was based on the result of consulting with both the cultural sector and the tourism industries. Considering non-cultural tourism resources, as noted, the tourism industries in general favoured remaining status quo under the governance of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications: there appeared a degree of distrust of the CCA, though it will be expanded to a Ministry. On the other hand, the cultural sector felt concern for the double focuses that may mislead resources and policy for cultural development. Despite that, the current remits of the Tourism Bureau are still considered in the scope of the Ministry of Culture: the remit for tourism will not be included in the portfolio of the Ministry of Culture at first but may be incorporated later (Senior Executive of the CCA, 2009).

It was generally agreed that the establishment of the Ministry of Culture is a positive move in terms of cultural infrastructures at national and local levels. First, cross-ministerial responsibilities will be unified. The departments within the Ministry will report to the sole top - the Culture Minister - which will be better than the present difficult coordination across different Ministries and organisations with different budgets and strategies. Second, the greater administrative power of a Ministry will make a difference in the extent of funding and policy implementations at local level. The Ministry has the administrative connection with the equivalent local authority departments. It

can be beneficial for the consistency of cultural policy. Third, to the museum sector's advantage, the Ministry of Culture will have a specific authority - in the name of 'museums and galleries', 'cultural facilities' or 'cultural resources' - in charge of the Museum Act, museum policy, the governance of national museums and non-national museum development. This will be an immense improvement in comparison with the current condition, where the CCA's responsibility for museums is exercised by three internal departments in terms of museums, community building (regarding the *Museums of Local Culture* campaign) and visual arts.

The positive flow is accompanied by challenges resulting from the reform process and the legacy of individual institutions. While the ministerial-level status of the National Palace Museum has been marked as a concern (this is discussed in Chapter Seven), a wave of privatisation has come along with the new public management models. According to the Executive Yuan's statement (2005), the restructuring follows four directions: deregulation, decentralisation, outsourcing and corporation, introducing new models for public services. The most relevant approaches in relation to public sector museums are outsourcing and corporation. There has been debate about whether or not the setting can offer museums the opportunity to be more autonomous and self-sufficient - which is the government's intention (Fan, 2003; RDEC, Executive Yuan, 2005; TrendGo Research and Survey, 2007). After all, it has provoked transformation towards a new governance relationship between public sector museums and the authorities responsible for them.

PUBLIC CORPORATION

The public corporation is one of the new public management models resulting from public reform and a global trend of introducing entrepreneurship into civil services. The concept of the public corporation is taken from Japan's experience, which is attributed to the 'arm's length' principle originating in Britain (Han, 2006). The main idea is to prevent culture from political invention and reduce cost. The overall purpose of 'corporatisation' policy is to enhance the flexibility and efficiency of some public services requiring professionalism that cannot be well performed in conventional public administration because of the

bureaucracy in traditional government personnel and accounting procedures. At the same time, the government can still ensure the achievement and quality of public services. According to a government statement, public corporations resembling the UK's executive non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs), US government corporations, German public corporations and Japanese independent administrative corporations, will be overseen by managerial boards. The board members are appointed by parent executive agencies and in some occasions can be recruited through an open process, depending on the conditions of individual institutions. The differences between public corporations and aforementioned publicly funded independent companies, e.g. NCAF, lie in the provision of public funding, the extent of supervision and the legal context, i.e. public or private laws applied to the institutions. In other words, public corporations have an entrepreneurial quality with a degree of flexibility in terms of self-determination of staff recruitment and finance, which in current situations are restricted to civil servants and annual budgets. As well, regarding their role of public services, public corporations are managed by public laws and examined by a mechanism of performance evaluation (Central Personnel Administration, Executive Yuan, 2006).

In 2004, the form of public corporation was first piloted in legislation for restructuring the Chiang Kai-Shek Cultural Center, making it the first semi-independent organisation in the cultural sector. Earlier, the National Museum of Taiwanese Literature was selected to pilot the corporatisation policy right before its opening in 2003, in the name of serving people in a more flexible and professional way and so as to increase participation (RDEC, Executive Yuan, 2005). The proposal was ultimately not taken forward; however, debate about the corporatisation policy has arisen in the museum sector. Some considered that the establishment of the Ministry of Culture would conflict with the concept of decentralisation among other public reform initiatives (Tu, 2003; Han, 2006). Some suggested that corporatisation could be an effective approach to museum governance as long as a special collective fund would be set for flexible use and a network of museums could be created to improve cooperation. The suggestion of a cooperative network favoured Japan's example, where a number of museums are grouped together with a board organised by the leading museum to build up a system of resource sharing, rather than the French model, where the

grouped museums are managed by a centralised museum association (Tu, 2003). Some thought that applying managerial boards in public corporations would not be able to tackle the problem of political intervention; instead, it would create a new problem of commercial intervention due to a degree of reliance on private resources (Huang, K. N., 2003; Kuo, 2006). Some disagreed with the corporatisation policy, considering the different nature of administrative systems between Taiwan and other model countries. This view was accompanied by a recommendation to look over legislative amendments of existing regulations or new legislations to achieve the same goal as the Public Corporation Bill - to improve the flexibility and efficiency of public services in terms of personnel and accounting (Han, 2006).

Similarly, there appears a reserved attitude towards a greater launch of public corporations among the interviewees in this research. Although it was believed that the real intention behind corporatisation might be to cut government expenditure on public services, e.g. subsidies for the organisations and retirement pensions for civil servants, the idea of improving flexibility and efficiency regarding museum governance was generally agreed upon:

If the purpose of corporatisation of a museum is to enhance professionalism within the museum or improve [efficiency of] the personnel and accounting systems, I think it is fine. However, if it aims to make a museum to be self-sufficient, I am afraid there will be problems. (Division Manager, Council for Cultural Affairs, 2009).

If the corporation policy is launched at national level, we [local authority cultural department] are optimistic about this. [...] It can solve the problem of some cultural professionals being left out of the civil service system since the public corporation will guarantee greater flexibility and the system will not be so rigid as it is now. (Division Manager, Cultural Affairs Department of the Taipei City Government, 2009)

On the other hand, it was questioned to what extent such an objective could be achieved since public corporations would partially depend on public investment, meaning a degree of accountability required by the government. In addition, corporatisation would put most museums at risk because the expectation for museums to be self-sufficient would make their finances count on their own operational funds instead of public subsidies:

[The approach of corporatisation to museum governance] is acceptable; however, being public corporations will not escape these organisations from official supervision because of their money from the public sector. Thereby, there is almost no difference between a public corporation and a governmental unit - just an additional mechanism [to the existing bureaucracy]. [...] Public funding implies a level of restriction. (Museum Manager B, 2009)

I personally do not agree [about the corporatisation of public museums], considering the nature of museums. Traditional museums having collections at the centre of their work [...] require state support to a great extent. If corporatised, there will be a risk in terms of how a museum's board and executives manage and determine its direction of development. This is particularly concerned with the fact that Taiwan's authority just began engaging in the categorisation of antiquities in museums [...]. (Senior Executive of the CCA, 2009)

The corporatisation of public museums will cause difficulties for most museums - probably only the National Palace Museum can survive. [...] if a museum - which in reality does not have a considerable number of visitors - becomes a public corporation and is provided with an endowment fund from which its operational costs will be paid at the moment, it must be able to make profits afterwards to run properly. (Museum Manager C, 2009)

Thus, the concept of the corporatisation policy seemed problematic, as in one way it sought greater autonomy and self-reliance of these public services and in another way attempted to retain control over these public bodies.

In fact, the Public Corporation Bill has not been approved by the Legislative Yuan; only a few public bodies took part in the pilot to become public corporations. There is still no museum in the form of a public corporation in Taiwan, though the corporatisation policy has not been off-the-table yet. For instance, the initial idea for the aforementioned Operation Fund was a preparatory step to apply the form of a public corporation to the national museums. Since the Public Corporation Bill seems deferred, the Ministry of Education now tends to support the budgetary modification through the Operation Fund to nurture entrepreneurship within the participating national museums, and not to prompt full implementation of public corporation. In the financial years of 2007 and 2008, the Ministry of Education found a positive effect of the Operation Fund on reducing expenses and identified that more efforts would be needed for these institutions to develop sources of income. The Ministry of Education has incorporated the intent of improving museums' income

generation in an existing Service Upgrade Programme. This programme, launched in 2004, has provided funding for a range of improvement projects, such as the enhancement of exhibition rooms and the development of digital environments and creative contents.

Because the Public Corporation Bill includes implications for museums, the legislative development of public corporation continues to be a significant concern for national museums and their governing bodies, as well as local authorities for local cultural provision. Generally, attention is directed towards an extended investigation into the piloted models of corporatised organisations in Taiwan and examples of other countries. As well, there is a need to enhance the understanding of the nature of Taiwan's infrastructures and the museum sector, e.g. the corporatisation policy might be contrary to the proposed context of the Museum Act, which is being developed based on the current structural setting with no consideration of the form of a public corporation.

OUTSOURCING

Outsourcing is an approach proposed by the government to encourage participation of the private sector in public services. The government takes supervisory responsibility for a public service but transfers the operation and production partially or fully to a private company. The government and the private company are in a relationship bound by a contract. On the side of government, the 'contracting out' of public services can contribute to a reduction of cost in government employment and encouragement of private investment. Different from the controversy of corporatisation, outsourcing is a common way of governing museums at national and local level in Taiwan, though different issues come out of each case. The emergence of privately-run public museums is also driven by the development of professionalism in museums beyond the scope of the civil service system, and increasing public interest in cultural heritage conservation and culture-led regeneration, especially after the 1999 Ji Ji earthquake. The principles of outsourcing and the areas of infrastructure including heritage, historic buildings, cultural and educational amenities governed by the CCA and the Ministry of Education are recognised in the Act for Promotion of Private Participation in Infrastructure Projects of 2001

and its subsequent Enforcement Rules. Among diverse models of contracting out, 'OT' (Operate-Transfer) and 'BOT' (Build-Operate-Transfer) projects are the most common public-private partnerships for museums. OT projects are those in which museums are built by the government and fully or partially 'operated' by private companies by agreement. After the agreed duration, the management of museums is 'transferred' back to the government if the contract is not extended or created with a new private investor. The only difference in BOT projects is that these projects include a task for the private company to 'build' a museum or part of a museum in the contract prior to the 'operation' and 'transfer'.

National institutions subordinate to the Ministry of Education were again the earliest cases that accommodated the outsourcing policy. For example, the relocation of the National Taiwan Science Education Center was an effort of the public sector since 1987; however, soon after the formation of the new venue in 2003, it was directed to bring in private investment. A domestic technological company, Tatung System Technologies Company, was commissioned in 2004 to undertake an OT project of the Science Education Center, while corporatisation was considered an alternative for its reform. The dispute over this case was about the policy accommodating process, arguing that the reform was rather experimental and had a sudden and massive impact on long-term organisational strategy and operation (Cheng, 2003; TrendGo Research and Survey, 2007). Comparatively, the privatisation of the National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium was driven by a bottom-up motivation. The Museum was established in February 2000 and autonomously planned to launch an OT mixed with BOT project to involve private investment. In contrast, there had been years of communication with the local community and society about the blueprint of applying such public-private cooperation in a new national museum to regenerate the area. The project was approved in July 2000 and a twenty-five-year partnership between the Museum and the Sea View World Company was formed, including the operation of two galleries built by the government (the OT project) as well as the construction and operation of a new gallery and other museum facilities (the BOT project) (Ho and Chiang, 2005; Chen, 2006). It is generally seen as a successful example of privatisation of a national museum. The success, however, does not allow generalising the appropriateness of outsourcing policy in museum governance. Following the model of the National

Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium, the Ministry of Education's move to privatise the National Museum of Prehistory was in fact a failure. Without any bid in years, the National Museum of Prehistory is vulnerably blamed for a lack of interest for private investors.

It is recognised that privatisation has contributed to the National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium with regard to its entertainment function, which is well connected with local tourism resources. Indeed, the nature of 'aquarium' seems a better material of tourism marketing, compared with the archaeological content of the National Museum of Prehistory, especially in relation to the tone of local tourism resources.⁴⁵ Therefore, privatisation can be an opportunity for a museum to develop as long as its distinct features and relationship to its environment are taken into account appropriately. As well, the accommodating process of structural reform is a matter to be aware of. It is seen in the examples of the National Taiwan Science Education Center and the National Museum of Prehistory that the policy decisions dominated by the Ministry of Education resulted in controversies over the governance relationship with its subordinate national institutions.

While the Act for Promotion of Private Participation in Infrastructure Projects provides the base of privatisation of public services, the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act is more specifically related to the wave of privatisation in the heritage sector, as explained in Chapter Four. The wave of privatisation has an obvious impact on the growth of museums or quasi-museums - which are heritage in essence and museums in their shape, particularly at local level. The privatisation and governance of such a growing type are discussed with the case study of the Taipei Story House in Chapter Seven.

⁴⁵ The National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium is located in Pingtung, south of Taiwan, where tourism marketing focuses on the tropical natural environment for beach vacations, water sports, coastal scenery and so on, whereas the National Museum of Prehistory is situated in Taitung, south-east of Taiwan, where main tourism resources include agricultural township living, hot spring resorts and aboriginal cultures.

MUSEUM GOVERNANCE IN SCOTLAND

PUBLIC SECTOR STRUCTURE

Culture was exercised by a ministerial post in the Scottish Executive with occasional changes in remits and relative importance: a junior position as the Deputy Minister for Culture and Sport (1999-2001); a Cabinet position as the Minister for Culture and Sport (2001-2003); a Cabinet position as the Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport (2003-2007). After the Scottish Parliament elections of 2007, the Scottish National Party (SNP) formed Scotland's first minority administration, led by First Minister Alex Salmond. In the re-branded Scottish Government, matters relating to culture and the arts combined with external Affairs and Europe are exercised by a junior ministerial position as the Minister for Europe, External Affairs and Culture (2007-2009) or the Minister for Culture and External Affairs (2009-present)⁴⁶ working directly with the First Minister. Meanwhile in the Scottish Parliament, culture and the arts in conjunction with matters within the responsibility of the Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning are considered and reported by the Education, Lifelong Learning and Culture Committee. The Scottish Government has five core strategic objectives, which a number of directorates are set up to make efforts towards. These objectives are:

- Wealthier and Fairer Scotland
- Healthier Scotland
- Safer and Stronger Scotland
- Smarter Scotland
- Greener Scotland

⁴⁶ During the main research period (2008-2009), the post was exercised by Linda Fabiani (17/05/2007-10/02/2009) and Michael Russell (10/02/2009-01/12/2009). The role was amended as the Minister for Culture and External Affairs since the appointment of Fiona Hyslop in December 2009.

Currently, the Directorate for Culture, External Affairs and Tourism is placed mainly in accordance with the objective of Wealthier and Fairer Scotland. The main purpose of the Directorate is “to promote Scotland, Scotland's interests and Scotland's identity both at home and abroad, in order to improve the quality of life of Scotland's people” (Scottish Government, 2009b), which is dedicated to matters within the portfolio of the Culture Minister, including culture and the arts, architecture, built heritage, Historic Scotland, major events strategy, Gaelic and Scots, Europe and external affairs (Scottish Government, 2010c).

In public agendas, museums are often incorporated within a wider heritage sector. In the current Scottish public sector structure, bodies in relation to heritage include national agencies, non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs) and publicly funded independent organisations. Some have an advisory function in advising Scottish Ministers on relevant issues, playing an important role in providing input in the policy process to ensure the Scottish Government's awareness of the area and the consistency of policy. Some have an executive function in implementing policy and providing funding on behalf of the Scottish Government. In general, central support to the cultural sector by the Scottish Government is distributed both on a direct basis, such as core funding to the National Collections bodies, and on an 'arm's length' principle through directly-funded agencies and independent bodies. These bodies and their responsibilities for culture and heritage, e.g. museums, galleries, libraries, archives and historic environment, in accordance with the scope of National Collections, are listed in Table 6-2.

Table 6-2 National bodies (public or publicly-funded bodies) delegated responsibilities for culture and heritage in Scotland (2008-2009)

Bodies	Responsibility regarding culture and heritage
Executive agencies	
Historic Scotland	Safeguarding and promotion of the nation's historic environment
National Archives of Scotland (NAS)*	Reference service of Scotland's economic and cultural life Advice to Scottish Ministers on records and information policy Advice to public and private sectors about the creation and management of their (historical) records
Non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs) - Executive	
National Galleries of	Collection preservation and enhancement

Bodies	Responsibility regarding culture and heritage
Scotland (NGS)*	Exhibition to public and promotion of the fine arts Education, instruction and advice Research and availability for study or research
National Library of Scotland (NLS)*	Reference and research library service with a wide range of collections covering every subject and specialising in Scotland's knowledge, history and culture
National Museums of Scotland (NMS)*	Collection and exhibition Advice, expertise and support to the museums' community across Scotland Fieldwork and research involving collaboration at local, national and international levels
Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS)*	Identification, survey and interpretation of information about Scotland's built environment Collection and preservation of information about the built environment Promotion of public understanding and enjoyment of the information about the built environment (This information relates to buildings, sites, and ancient monuments of archaeological, architectural and historical interest)
Scottish Arts Council (SAC, merged with Scottish Screen into Creative Scotland in 2010)	Funding, development and advocacy of the arts in Scotland
Scottish Further and Higher Education Funding Council (SFC)	Funding for teaching and learning, research, university collections and other activities in Scotland's colleges and universities
Scottish Natural Heritage	Care for the natural heritage and its sustainable development Promotion of natural heritage's value underpinning economy, health, education and well-being
VisitScotland	National tourism network A single point of contact for tourism businesses Delivery and implementation of a national strategy combined with local tourism action plans
Bòrd Gàidhlig na h-Alba (Gaelic Development Agency)	Promotion and development of the use and understanding of Gaelic Access to the Gaelic language and Gaelic culture in Scotland and elsewhere Management of public funds for the development of Gaelic culture

Non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs) - Advisory	
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Architecture and Design	Architecture, design and planning in the built
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Bodies	Responsibility regarding culture and heritage
Scotland	environment
Historic Environment Advisory Council for Scotland (HEACS)	Advice on: Identification and protection of the historic environment Presentation and promotion of the historic environment Contributions of the historic environment to the wider context: education, the economy, tourism, arts and culture, leisure and the promotion of social justice Skills, materials and resources for the future of the historic environment
Scottish Records Advisory Council (SRAC)	Advice to Scottish Ministers on matters relating to public records in Scotland and issues important to the archive community
Membership organisations funded by the Scottish Government - Advisory and/or Executive	
Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS, previously SMC): sponsored by the Scottish Government	Regarding Scottish museums and galleries and support for members: Funding, development and advocacy Identification, protection and promotion of the collections of national significance to Scotland via managing the Recognition Scheme and the Accreditation Scheme Research on the sector's economic and social impacts on communities Advice and support to members on areas such as collection care, learning and access, ICT and workforce development
Scottish Library and Information Council (SLIC): funded by membership subscriptions, partially funded by the Scottish Government and financially contributed to by the National Library of Scotland	Regarding Scottish library and information services and support for members: Funding, development and advocacy Advice and training to members Advice to Scottish Government and Ministers Coordination on a national level Research, standards of provision, promotion of innovation and the understanding of the sector's contribution to the life of the nation

(*institutions which are incorporated in the 'National Collections' context)

The categories of museums are usually described in policy documents according to the core funding for a museum in Scotland. While the National Collections institutions are independent bodies directly funded by the Scottish Government with an executive role in the public sector, local authority museums are supported by local authorities among a wide range of cultural services. Independent museums are run by their trusts, with income from admission charges and trading as well as some grants from local authorities, whereas

university collections are specially funded by the Scottish Further and Higher Education Funding Council (known as the Scottish Funding Council, SFC) which provides support to higher and further education in Scotland. Specifically, regimental museums in Scotland rely on funding from the Ministry of Defence (UK), with indirect support from Historic Scotland and income from admission charges (Scottish Executive, 2003).

Prior to devolution, national museums and galleries were all under the banner of the National Museums and Galleries scheme managed by the DCMS. While this continues in England, there are two separate identities in Scotland: the National Museums of Scotland and the National Galleries of Scotland (Falconer and Blair, 2003). The National Collections bodies have a close day-to-day working relationship with the Scottish Government. Through meetings on a regular basis, the Scottish Government is knowledgeable of the concerns of the National Collections, e.g. the Royal Museum Project and the Portrait of the Nation Project, currently in progress. The NMS and NGS are the NDPBs sponsored by the Scottish Government, which means the Scottish Government has control over their funding. As a result, the Scottish Government has a degree of influence on part of their policy. Their relations with the Scottish Government have made them the major institutions to embody governmental policies.

Local provision for museum services, on the other hand, is much associated with local authority structures and local cultural strategies. The difference between local authorities in Scotland was revealed in the publication of the Scottish Executive's report *A survey of local authority provision for arts and culture* (Scottish Executive, 2002a). According to the report, there was a variation in terms of the range of arts and cultural provision, the delivery of arts and cultural services, links with other council services and across sectors, evaluation and resource allocation. In that case, it was hard to draw a generalised picture of local authority museums. Instead, the diversity of local museum scenes was tracked down in this research. Two trends were indicated in the survey in terms of local authority provision for culture and the arts: a changing role of local authorities from direct provision towards supporting 'enablers', e.g. charitable trusts, as well as the alignment of cultural activities against national and local governmental objectives. The former was related to the structural change of local authorities and the resulting change of the delivery of cultural services and

the relationship with other council services. For example, the charitable trust Culture and Sport Glasgow⁴⁷ (CSG) was established in 2007 to manage cultural and sports services on behalf of Glasgow City Council - the change of work in relation to Glasgow's museum service is outlined in the next chapter. The latter was associated with local cultural strategies. According to the survey, most corporate plans of local authorities tended to link culture with other corporate objectives which were commonly identified by priorities such as social inclusion, health, life-long learning, economic regeneration and community development. That is to say, there were increased connections between cultural provision and other local authority services and more partnerships between local cultural services with other groups at local and national levels. Although culture was seen as being able to contribute to the delivery of other services, the survey reported that culture seemed less significant in comparison with other priorities: "strategic commitment to culture was not always supported by a financial commitment and where there was a choice to be made between cutting back on cultural provision or cutting back on the education or social work budgets, the first option was more likely to be chosen" (Scottish Executive, 2002a, p. 2). In this regard, the report concluded with three common issues for the majority: "a lack of understanding of the meaning and value of arts and culture"; "a lack of statutory responsibilities relating to arts and culture"; and "a general lack of money" (2002, p. 18).

Local authority provision for culture and the arts has been a concern in the development of national cultural strategy. Since devolution a national approach for culture has been developed, reviewed and redeveloped, addressing the distinctiveness of physical infrastructure for culture in Scotland. The diversity of local cultural provision is shown among twenty-seven small and four medium-sized local authority services, and one very large metropolitan service in Orr's (2008) report regarding the infrastructure and the progress of policy

⁴⁷ Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG) was rebranded as Glasgow Life in June 2010, together with sub-brands including Glasgow Arts, Glasgow Communities, Glasgow Events, Glasgow Libraries, Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Music, Glasgow Sport and Young Glasgow, in order to enhance the public's recognition of its facilities and services (Glasgow Life, 2010; THE DRUM News, 2010). Glasgow Life and the sub-brands are the operating names of the CSG. As the rebranding has no consequence on the organisation's legitimate status and most of the research as regards Glasgow Museums was carried out prior to the rebranding, this thesis refers to the organisation as 'Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG)' throughout the discussion unless stated otherwise.

development. According to Orr, it is a challenge for Scotland since there is a lack of regional infrastructure to support national and local provision of public services. Given the absence of a clear framework of cultural delivery in the existing Local Government Act of 1982, local provision of cultural services has been considered in line with local budgets. The call for a consistent system of local government reporting and accountability of cultural provision by local authorities was endorsed by the Cultural Commission by means of developing a system of cultural rights and entitlements established in each local authority area. According to *Scotland's Culture*, while “the principle of entitlements to cultural provision for local people, in the spirit of the rights already in place at international and European levels” was accepted (Scottish Executive, 2006, p. 19), the Scottish Executive did not agree on specifying rights and entitlements in legislation at that point, considering it impractical (Orr, 2008).

In the current SNP administration, specified legislation for local cultural provision is not intended. Instead, the governmental strategic objectives are outlined in the new National Performance Framework, where a system of Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) has become the mechanism for affirming accountability at local level - the implementation is through local authority provision and the Community Planning Partnership (CPP), although cultural bodies are not essential for an SOA. Moreover, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the development of national standards was declared in *Scotland's Culture*. Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS) has been working on outcomes and targets for the museums in Scotland in a Quality Improvement System (QIS), which constitutes part of an overarching framework endorsed by the Scottish Government and is based on the UK-wide Accreditation Scheme (previously the Registration Scheme). These frameworks are demonstrated in detail in the following sections.

THE NATIONAL PERFORMANCE FRAMEWORK

The National Performance Framework, introduced in November 2007, is one of the main differences of the current SNP government from the previous administration. It basically sets out what the SNP hopes to achieve as a government and what the government's priorities are. The Framework was set

“[t]o focus government and public services on creating a more successful country, with opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish, through increasing sustainable economic growth” (Scottish Government, 2007a, p. 43). Fifteen national outcomes were set up below the five strategic objectives: Wealthier and Fairer, Healthier, Safer and Stronger, Smarter, and Greener. To measure these national outcomes, it also produced forty-five national indicators and targets to guide the public services sector for aligning their work towards high level issues.

Cultural bodies in the public services sector are responsible for aligning their strategy with the National Performance Framework. Then, how does the work of museums link to the National Performance Framework? As mentioned earlier, the Scottish Government’s sponsorship of the National Collections bodies underlies a national remit for these institutions. Further, the National Performance Framework has created a new process that has changed the way in which the National Collections and other public bodies have to think about their objectives of operation in relation to national objectives, and align their work to the government’s priorities in order to help support the Scottish economy - the predominant goal of the Framework. Although it is still in a very early stage of the process and the impact of the system should be evaluated for a longer period, it has prompted changes in the museum sector. For instance, the NGS is undergoing a process of change in terms of organisational efficiency and management structure. A new corporate plan is being developed where the organisational objectives are explored together with the national outcomes of the National Performance Framework. Hence the process of change in the NGS is a reaction to the change of the government and the change of the financial situation (Museum Manager D, 2009) - variations in the NGS’s operation in relation to governmental agendas are further explored in Chapter Seven.

In addition to the Nationals, the National Performance Framework has become a drive of the development of local authority museums. Local authority museums have to be part of the National Performance Framework and, additionally, local authorities have their Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs), which is basically their plan for local authority services. The SOA does not require the whole range of a council’s activities. It is the local authority’s decision whether or not and to what extent cultural services or museums services are included within an SOA.

Hence for a local authority museum, the Framework and possibly an SOA are part of their governance structure. As a result, it seems that a single reporting line has been established whereby ultimately all organisations report to the Scottish Government and issues regarding museums are reported to the Culture Minister. It was said that this different approach intending to “get everybody facing the same direction” has made it easier to work across sectors from Scotland’s point of view “because Scotland is quite small” (Board member of the MGS, 2009).

Although the single direction appears to make the delivery of public services consistent, it is argued that the intrinsic value of ‘culture’ is assumed to contribute to these prescriptive measurable outcomes and targets, which are not culturally specific (Orr, 2008). Concern for the design of the National Performance Framework was also found in the research, as this interviewee pointed out:

What’s interesting when they created this [National Performance Framework], they didn’t think about culture. Would you look at this - 45 national indicators, culture is not mentioned anywhere, in any of these, which we find quite disturbing. Because in theory, there ought to be things in there we can contribute to but we can’t. That is not an extra thing for us to do but we’re worried that culture is not enough focused for them because we think culture’s perhaps more important than anything. (Museum Manager D, 2009)

Here, it is considered that the value of culture is interpreted assumingly in a way of adhering to the government’s priorities, of which culture is not distinctively identified. Explained by Orr from a cultural agency’s point of view, the SNP’s instrumental approach, which focuses on economic growth, will make it “harder to raise the issue of resources for the [cultural] sector” (2008, p. 314). If looking into the Framework’s forty-five indicators and targets, the only one that can be justified as culturally-related would be “improve the state of Scotland’s historic buildings, monuments and environment” (Scottish Government, 2007a, p. 47). However, this may be rather concerned with tourism in economic terms. As the Framework was created at a very strategic level for Scotland, the task now for museums is to identify their equivalence; that is to say, museums would have to link their work to the national outcomes, or claim their impacts. Accordingly, it is clear that museums’ public accountability in the

non-cultural dimensions is highlighted in Scotland - a continuous effect of the New Public Management as demonstrated in the previous chapters. The 'language' used to address the link or impact is an exercise of the MGS that brings out its role in the process as a facilitator. Next, the role of the MGS in Scotland's organisational structure of museums and its relation with the Scottish Government is deliberated.

THE ROLE OF MUSEUMS GALLERIES SCOTLAND

Previously, this was the Scottish Museums Council (SMC), sponsored by the Scottish Office before devolution and by the Scottish Executive since devolution. The new identity of the Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS) was introduced during the SNP administration in March 2008, coming from organisational developments in recent years and consideration of the organisation's current and future roles. The MGS has worked differently from its equivalent organisations in England and Wales: the Museums, Libraries, and Archives Council (MLA) in England is a non-departmental public body with regional offices dealing with matters regarding museums together with libraries and archives, while the Welsh agency is absorbed into a governmental department. The MGS is a membership organisation with charitable status. It represents over 340 museums and galleries within Scotland; its membership comprises 32 local authorities, nine university museums, 162 independent museums, seven regimental trusts and three National Collections bodies - the National Galleries of Scotland, the National Library of Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). Its board, including representatives from member organisations as well as lay members with a particular specialism, e.g. marketing and finance, is elected by the members of the MGS. The MGS receives annual core funding of up to £2 million from the Scottish Government as well as around £100,000 from organisational membership subscriptions.

It has been demonstrated in the preceding chapter that the MGS (the old SMC) was originally set up to provide services to its members and to help develop the sector, without a huge role in the policy process; however, it developed a political role, which became a concern in the 1980s. After devolution, there was a call for the role of SMC to be clarified, together with the proposal of a new

representative agency in the *Action Framework* of 2003. In this regard, the SMC's membership was an issue regarding the extent to which it could fulfil the role of a national agency. Nevertheless, in reality the responsibilities of a new agency proposed in that paper, e.g. standards, grants, advice and training, have been somewhat realised by the SMC/MGS in recent years. It appears that the MGS's involvement in the public policy sector has gradually grown. Indeed, according to the sources from the MGS, its role in the policy process has been developing, particularly while the Scottish Government has developed through devolution, and this is increasingly recognised by the current government compared to administration in the past. Since the Scottish Government does not have direct contact with many of the museums in Scotland, the information and advice from the MGS is important to the government's knowledge of issues arising in the sector, and solutions to these issues. There is regular exchange of information between the Scottish Government and the MGS, whereby an advisory role with the government is given to the MGS. In the view of the MGS, being a membership organisation is an advantage as it allows the MGS a degree of independence to develop a strong role with the government because it is not totally funded by the government, and the board is not appointed by the Scottish Ministers, even though the money from the members is a relatively small proportion - this is reasonable since the MGS is a small organisation. Independence based on membership is regarded to be the MGS's strength to provide input on policy decisions on behalf of the sector, particularly for smaller museums.

In contrast, it is worth noting that the MGS's position in the policy process has not been generally recognised as significant. While the MGS bridges many of the non-national museums with the Scottish Government, one interviewee in this research commented on the link between the Scottish Government and Glasgow Museums, saying the primary means of contact was through the Chair of the Board of Culture and Sport Glasgow to the government, or more precisely, "the existing Councillor direct to the Minister", rather than the MGS, which was deemed "[not] influential in the government" (Museum Manager E, 2009). The respondent considered the powerlessness of the professional MGS to be related to the fact that culture was not the government's high priority - just like the aforementioned concern for the lack of focus on culture in the National

Performance Framework. Also, if taking into account the scale of these organisations - the MGS as a small membership organisation and Glasgow Museums as the largest civic museum service in the UK, under the umbrella of the charitable trust Culture and Sport Glasgow - it may make better sense of why the MGS seems less effectual in this case.

One thing that is certain is the MGS's aspiration to develop a stronger role of representing the sector as a whole. Despite the separate reporting structure and funding streams for the Nationals, the MGS has sought to involve all the Nationals in their membership, in order to represent the sector completely and coherently. Its new identity, replacing the literally bureaucratic 'Scottish Museums Council', was adopted to reflect the organisational development, moving from a pure focus on its members to a wider strategic scope. The rebranding shows how the MGS sees its potential role in the policy process:

Some would say the branding itself has changed our position of such, but all the position would be changing is related to how we see ourselves. I think the rebranding probably reflects the confidence through the organisation in terms of its relationship with the government. We are much clearer about our role and how we see ourselves interacting with the government. That's just a developing relationship and we find more and more they would come to us. They would seek our advice or we would take advice to them, sort of two way street. So I think the two things are growing together. (Manager, Museums Galleries Scotland, 2009)

Its membership is seen as valuable in this regard, whereas the MGS in many ways has to work as a governmental agency by linking to the government's strategies and priorities due to the core funding received from the government. This is apparent, for example, in the way in which the MGS plays the role of a facilitator in the chain between the sector and the government regarding the National Performance Framework. The MGS is dedicated to working with the Scottish Government on developing ways in which the cultural sector responds to the context of the Framework and the Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs), e.g. guidance for local authorities and the QIS framework. The MGS's effort into this includes highlighting the relevance between the work of museums and the national outcomes as well as local objectives. As for the SOAs, the MGS's suggestion is that:

Museums can improve their own ability to report the value of what they do by being aware of the content of both the local community plan and the SOA relating to it. It is worth identifying areas where museum activities can contribute, and to reflect the language of the SOA in planning services and outcomes. (MGS, 2008a)

In addition, its recent research report *Volunteering in Museums* (Baird and Greenaway, 2009) has produced a demonstration of the impact and value of volunteering in museums, in line with the Scottish Government's National Performance Framework. Implications are drawn between volunteering practices in museums and contributions to the national outcomes. Central to the MGS's attempt to identify the link is the belief that museums have a wide role in society. In a way, the Framework has provided the focus and context for the MGS to serve the sector. In another way, the ability of members to deliver the national outcomes is how the MGS fits in and contributes to the national picture. In that sense, the MGS plays a mediator's role in facilitating the process by means of the provision of information that relates the value of museums to the achievement of national objectives.

Above all, the major function the MGS has in the relationship with the Scottish Government is funding distribution. The MGS channels approximately £400,000 per annum into non-national museums in Scotland in support of their development through grants-in-aid on a project basis (MGS, 2008b). Changes to grant schemes in 2010/2011 were announced in September 2009, including a modified range of the amount available in small grants of between £150 and £5,000 (previously up to £2,000), main grants of between £5,000 and £30,000 (previously up to £20,000), and a new Purchase Fund for smaller independents, of up to £600 (MGS, 2008b, 2009a). These grant schemes are made to support projects aiming to improve the quality of services or provoke strategic organisational changes. In addition to annual grant schemes, the MGS offers funding opportunities through special programmes such as Show Scotland⁴⁸ and funding streams such as the Strategic Change Fund (SCF) and the Regional Development Challenge Fund (RDCF), as mentioned in the previous chapter, and the Recognition Scheme, initiated in 2007. In addition to these Scotland-wide funding streams, the UK-wide Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) is another importance

⁴⁸ Show Scotland is an event organised by the MGS where all participating museums and galleries run performance-related programmes.

source for Scotland's museum sector. Next to these funding opportunities, national standards are applied to develop and improve the sector, including the UK-wide Accreditation Scheme and the new Quality Improvement System (QIS) in Scotland. These infrastructures are examined over the next sections.

UK-WIDE AND SCOTLAND-WIDE INFRASTRUCTURES

STANDARDS FOR MUSEUMS

ACCREDITATION

The Accreditation Scheme for Museums in the United Kingdom is seen as being of very great importance to the UK's museum sector. It originated from the Registration Scheme for Museums and Galleries, originally established in 1988 and revised in 2004 to reflect an advanced recognition for museums which achieve the requirements of the standards specified in the Scheme. While the Scheme is maintained primarily by the MLA and supervised by the Accreditation Committee, the assessment of applications for Accreditation in Scotland is undertaken by the MGS (except for government-funded national museums, which are all assessed by the MLA). The Scheme is regarded as a minimum standard for museums and galleries in the UK, where the standard is configured by four subjects: Governance and Museum Management, User Services, Visitor Facilities and Collections Management (MLA, 2004). Museums with Accredited status are monitored by means of a required return to assessing organisations every two years to demonstrate how the Accreditation standard continues to be maintained (MLA, 2004). Currently, among over 1,800 museums in the UK participating in the Scheme, over 1,400 museums have achieved Accreditation, while Registered museums have been asked to apply for Accredited status, and some museums are new to the Scheme (Jura Consultants, 2009; MLA, 2010a).

In order to improve and develop the Accreditation Scheme, the MLA initiated a review of the Scheme through a series of consultations. In 2009, two commissioned research reports about Accreditation were published: *The Development of Accreditation - Gauging the museum sector's response* and *Impact of the Museum Accreditation Scheme*, followed by the MLA's response in

Accreditation: The Way Forward (2010). The impacts and challenges of the Scheme were pointed out. As noted, the Accreditation Scheme had internal and external benefits for museum operation. First, it contributed to raising the profile of a museum, which made the role of the museum increasingly acknowledged and credited by governing authorities and relevant organisations. Second, it had an impact on organisational planning and operating procedures by means of a better understanding with the governing body, the conformity of operation and the encouragement of partnership as a result of employing Accreditation standard in the museum. Third, it assisted applications to secure funding - this was the most common motivation for a museum to apply for Accreditation. In some cases, it supported the development of collections in terms of acquisition, borrowing and loaning, since the environment of safeguarding collections was recognised by a UK-wide standard. Sometimes Accreditation was regarded as a performance indicator by museums and relevant authorities (Jura Consultants, 2009).

On the other hand, a number of recommendations were made in both reports regarding the application process and the requirements of the standard in consideration with the diversity of the sector, e.g. organisations with multiple sites, national museums and university collections. Indeed, one interviewee commented that the application process was time-consuming, especially for an organisation with multiple sites, and the benefits of the Scheme for national museums were not clear:

Perhaps, I don't think [Accreditation is] necessary for national museums. There is a lot of work [...]. We have to do it four times because we have four galleries. Each of the galleries has to be accredited. That's tiring and a lot of duplication, piles of forms, boxes to be filled in, additional materials to be sent in. [...] of course [for] a national gallery, we have a collection of a particular standard. We have the structures in place to manage our collection; otherwise we wouldn't exist. However I also understand why they have the process. I think it's too much for a national collection. I do agree perhaps for regional galleries and for smaller galleries I think it's important for a standard to monitor it and get improved. (Museum Manager D, 2009)

In addition to challenges facing multiple-site museums and the Nationals, university collections were concerned about the requirements of public access as regards the purpose of collections and the operating environment - the

distinctiveness of a university collection is specified in the case study of the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery. Such problems were associated with the type, size and governance structure of a museum. The diversity of the sector was suggested to be considered to improve flexibility of the Scheme and to review the key areas and the level of detail of requirements (Hopkins Van Mil, 2009; Jura Consultants, 2009). These recommendations were taken into consideration for future development of the Scheme, and in the response to the two reports, the MLA pledged a commitment to a more simplified process, more relevant requirements to core areas of museum work and more flexible options for an updated standard (MLA, 2010a).⁴⁹

QUALITY IMPROVEMENT SYSTEM (QIS)

In relation to MLA's intention to improve the current Accreditation Scheme, a concern for additional arrangements based on the achievement of Accreditation for museums to develop further was also indicated in the results of the consultation. While participating in the Accreditation Advisory Panel, the MGS is also undertaking the development of a Quality Improvement System (QIS), which is a sector-specific tool integral to a new Quality Improvement Framework (QIF) - an overarching approach to improve public sector services advocated by the Scottish Government. The QIS is designed for the purpose of offering a framework for Accredited museums of all types in Scotland seeking further improvements. The QIS incorporates Accreditation with more extensive concerns aligned towards national priorities. It acts as a self-evaluation means which can be reprocessed over and over; thereby the quality of a museum's provision can be continuously monitored by this framework. It aims to provide a picture of current achievements of the museum, identifying strong and weak points to reflect on future planning for improvements, e.g. the need for funding or staff. The picture will be drawn from seven dimensions: *Service planning and delivery; Access and inclusion; Meeting user needs; User's experiences and learning; Management of resources and space; Leadership, ethos and values; Management*

⁴⁹ Implementation of the revised standard, drawn in October 2010, is planned for later 2011 since the MLA is currently experiencing a transition as part of the new UK government's plan to streamline arm's length bodies. The MLA's functions and running programmes, including Accreditation, could transfer to the Arts Council England (Heal, 2010; MLA, 2010b).

*of collections*⁵⁰ (MGS, 2009b). Here, the QIS has an emphasis on ‘users’, with an intention to address the link between the museum and its community. The QIS centring on the evaluation of ‘impact’ applies an evidence-based method to the framework. It is structured to involve input from stakeholders, users, partners and staff from all service departments of the organisation. The QIS was piloted between September 2009 and March 2010 and a series of consultations have been operated subsequently. Meanwhile, consideration is given to other performance management models as the QIS is developed. It is designed to be compatible with the established quality models in use, such as Best Value, the SOAs and the Public Service Improvement Framework (PSIF), as well as to align with the high level evaluation of culture and sport provision through “How Good is Our Culture and Sport?” (HGIOCS?) - one of the strategic elements of the QIF which is also being tested at this time (MGS, 2009b; Scottish Government, 2010e).

As previously mentioned, one major motivation for participating in the evaluation schemes is that meeting national standards contributes to raising the profile of a museum so as to ensure funding. In fact, it was also noted by respondents that how a quality standard model reflects its value for museums depends on the way the museum use it; for example, it assists in making a case for funding and staffing. Since the Accreditation Scheme is a recognised UK-wide standard for museums, many funding streams have made it a fundamental eligibility requirement. Sometimes, there are limitations of eligibility for funding in terms of governance structure. The following section outlines two main funding streams for Scottish museums: the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), which is available for museums in the UK at all levels to apply for, and the Recognition Scheme, which allocates funding from Scottish Government to non-national museums in Scotland.

⁵⁰ After consultations, the QIS was re-defined; the seven dimensions were modified into six quality indicators: *Service planning and development*; *Access, inclusion and user’s experience*; *Promoting learning*; *Managing resources*; *Leadership, ethos and values*; and *Improving collections management*.

FUNDING STREAMS

HERITAGE LOTTERY FUND

Apart from core funding, grants-in-aid are much relied on by museums to develop and improve their services. For example, the Kelvingrove New Century Project of Glasgow Museums was supported by sponsorship and fundraising through the Kelvingrove Refurbishment Appeal Trust as well as grants from Historic Scotland, Glasgow City Council, the European Regional Development Fund and mostly from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). The significance of the HLF is commonly recognised by museums and the heritage sector in the UK.

Lottery funding is a matter reserved to the UK Parliament and covered within the wider reserved concept of Betting, Gaming and Lotteries. Lottery distribution which relates to devolved responsibilities becomes an important issue in the working relationship between the Scottish administration and the UK departments. It is indicated in the Concordat between the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and the Scottish Executive (DCMS and Scottish Executive, 1999) that the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) and **sportscotland** are the Scotland-only bodies with Lottery distributing functions. Scottish Ministers have power over operation of Lottery funds in Scotland and decision-making of devolved matters regarding UK-wide Lottery distribution to Scotland. As the SAC acts as a main channel of Lottery funding to the arts and culture on behalf of the DCMS, the UK-wide HLF continues to be a primary distributor of Lottery funds to museums in Scotland. For example, the HLF contributes to the ongoing Riverside Museum Project of Glasgow Museums, which is incorporated within a wider waterfront regeneration campaign.

Since 1994 the HLF has been dedicated to funding the UK's heritage sector, ranging from museums, historic and archaeological sites, natural environment, parks and cultural traditions; beneficiaries include organisations across the public, independent and voluntary sectors at national and local levels. Since the Fund first launched in 1994, the HLF has contributed to over 33,900 projects, with £4.4billion delivered throughout the UK (HLF, 2010), and the Kelvingrove New Century Project is one of the major projects supported by HLF with a grant of £12.8 million. The HLF is administrated by the National Heritage Memorial

Fund (NHMF), an NDPB which reports to the UK Parliament through the DCMS - the background of NHMF was previously introduced in Chapter Five, regarding the Conservative government's approach to heritage conservation through the 1980s. Next to the London-based head office, the HLF is supported by offices and committees in the regions of England as well as in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. These regional or national offices manage the applications for small grants of up to £50,000, while the committees are delegated the responsibility for decision-making on funding of £50,000 to £1 million.

In 2002, the DCMS reviewed the Lottery distribution, and the SMC's response pointed out that it was critical to consider a closer link between the HLF policy and Scottish agendas with respect to member appointments, which were of particular concern from Scotland's perspective:

1.7 HLF have a key role to play in the development of the museum sector in Scotland, and it is essential that HLF strategy [dovetails] with the National Action Plan for Museums in Scotland being developed at present by the Scottish Executive. To this end, perhaps HLF might consider greater devolution of policymaking functions to Scottish level. For example, policy officers on learning and access are presently based in HLF London, with a UK remit. Yet the Scottish and English education systems are markedly different, and Scottish museums have not benefited from the same investment in education as their English counterparts. Indeed, where culture and education are both devolved matters, HLF policy needs to be closely aligned to the Scottish agenda. The principle of additionality could and should be upheld, as has been possible with devolution of Lottery distribution for the arts and sport in Scotland. (SMC, 2002b)

Therefore, in the same year the HLF appointed a Development Team to improve the equity of HLF funding across Scotland and focus on investment in the Social Inclusion Partnership areas as well as local authority areas that had received fewer HLF grants than others (HLF Scotland, 2007). Four areas (Falkirk, Inverclyde, Renfrewshire and South Lanarkshire) have been specifically identified by the HLF Development Team in Scotland as the main areas of concern to promote HLF funding and assist project planning (HLF Scotland, 2008; HLF, 2010).

The scope of the HLF funding programmes is the main reason why this funding stream is generally appreciated. In addition to specific projects, the funding

from the HLF is awarded in support of acquisitions and, most importantly, capital projects, and it can be applied for by museums of different types and sizes across governance structures. Capital funding and accessibility are seen to be the greatest advantages of the HLF funding.

RECOGNITION SCHEME

As outlined in the previous chapter, funding schemes were created as a result of the development of Scotland's national cultural strategy, including the Strategic Change Fund (SCF), launched by the SMC in 2002 to provoke intentional transformation in the museum sector, and the Regional Development Challenge Fund (RDCF), opened in 2004 to encourage partnerships and establish a regional development network for the sector. Thirteen projects on different areas of museum exercises, ranging from collections, learning in museums, audience development and access, to partnerships and leadership development, were benefited by the SCF with funding of over £1.5 million. All thirteen projects were completed before and by 2006, and final evaluation of the SCF was reported in February 2008 (Giraffe Consulting, 2008). As for the RDCF, the Scottish Executive invested over £3.5 million through the SMC over three years to ten museum partnership projects. These projects were reviewed in a report produced in April 2008 which illustrated the outcomes up to that point. Focusing on regional collaboration across sectors, the projects had diverse interests regarding the development of museum services, e.g. digital resources, learning and access, marketing, social integration, staff training and skills development, collections and touring exhibitions. Overall, the Fund helped raise the profile and capacity of the museums as well as strengthen the framework of community planning and partnership working. The final evaluation of the RDCF and individual projects is awaited after many then-unfinished projects ended by March 2009 (Aidan Walsh Consultancy, 2008). The achievements of the RDCF were admired, as noted in the report, so that "If funding to continue or replace the RDCF does not materialise, museums in Scotland may well look back on the RDCF (and also the Strategic Change Fund) as a 'golden age' of creative co-operation and public service" (Aidan Walsh Consultancy, 2008, p. 42). Following the termination of these two funding programmes, current government investment to the sector is routed through the Recognition Scheme.

Different from the previous two Funds, which directly supported projects for sector development, the Recognition Scheme was conceived with a rationale in relation to the previous SMC's work on building up national performance standards (Scottish Executive, 2006). The Recognition Scheme is managed by the MGS on behalf of the Scottish Government. The aim of the Scheme is to acknowledge and support the collections of national significance across Scotland. The Scheme is open to non-national museums run by local authorities, universities and independent trusts which have achieved Accreditation and have full membership of the MGS. Once a collection achieves Recognised status, it will be awarded with the name of 'Recognised Collection of National Significance to Scotland', with official identifications, e.g. plaque, certificate and the right to use the Recognition logo. The organisation responsible for the Recognised collection is made accountable for continuing or improving the existing level of maintenance, development and promotion of the collection, as well as expanding its reach. Recognised collections are eligible to apply for the National Recognition Fund of their own accord. Each eligible organisation can apply for funding of up to £40,000 in support of particular needs or a specific project inside the limit of a twelve-month which show a commitment to the objectives of the Recognition Scheme. As soon as the previous project is finished, organisations can apply for the next round of funding for a further project. Since the first announcement of Recognised collections in June 2007, over £1.5 million has been invested in the non-national museum sector in two years, and additional funding of £750,000 is granted in 2010 through the Scheme (Scottish Government, 2010d). In general, the Recognition Scheme is seen as an easier way for non-national museums in Scotland to secure funding instead of applying for funding from other grant-awarding bodies such as the HLF. It is generally acclaimed that the Recognition Scheme helps raise the benchmark, as having Accreditation is the first step to be eligible for the Scheme. As well, it aids fundraising for a museum in terms of formal recognition of the national importance of its collection.

Despite its value, the credibility of the Recognition Scheme was argued by several interviewees in the research. This was explained by two points. First, regarding the money available to the Scheme and the timescale of funding, it was noted that, while the funding is equally offered by a sum of up to £40,000 to

each museum, there seems to be no concern for the difference among Recognised collections in terms of size, quality and subject. In that case, the fund would mean far less for larger museums in terms of their overall budgets if considering the effort and cost involved in the progress, and so a £40,000 project could make relatively little practical difference from their standpoint. The concern was expressed by some of the interviewees when they spoke from their positions about how helpful the Recognition funding had been for the museums:

We in Glasgow have been arguing that our collections are of national significance for years. We've achieved Recognition, but the sums of money available in the Recognition Scheme are tiny. The maximum grant is £40,000. Thirty percent of our visitors come from Glasgow; thirty percent are tourists - so we contribute to the national economy; forty percent are Scottish citizens from outside the city. So we argue that the central government should give us money to help us maintain the quality of our services. (Museum Manager E, 2009)

The Recognition Scheme is not coming with good enough sums of money that we're looking for. In particular for the local authorities, we already struggle for cash and there are an awful lot of catch-up things to do. (Museum Manager F, 2009)

[...] There's only about £400,000 left for the solution [the Recognition Scheme]. Only recognised collections can apply for that [...] but there are now [by July 2009] 32 or 33 recognised collections. So all of them each year will apply to the funding from the Recognition Scheme of £400,000 and will be all successful when they all deliver something already - [thus] £12,000 to £15,000 each. So it's not very much. In fact, the maximum one can apply for in this Scheme is £40,000 [...] but £40,000 that we get by that good, in terms of our overall budget, really become small. (Museum Manager G, 2009)

This last interviewee noted the need to improve the Scheme, suggesting a reconsideration of the timescale of distributing the funding if there is no more funding available for the Scheme at the moment:

It would be better if there was much more funding: £40,000 is just one of those awkward things. If you're getting £100,000 or £200,000, then you could do something very much strategic. Rather than getting another £40,000 to use in a year, if we can get £160,000 to use over four years, that would be more beneficial. [...] I think it's more potential timescale-wise, which guarantees at existing level for a longer period. We could do more strategic things. (Museum Manager G, 2009)

Second, in relation to the first point, as the Recognition Scheme was regarded as a beginning in Scotland's museum policy thinking, its scope does not show its own significance as anticipated, especially by larger museums, in comparison with equivalent mechanisms in England. Recognition is often compared with the MLA's Designation Scheme and *Renaissance in the Regions*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *Renaissance* programme is considered of great importance to the development of non-national museums in England. The significance of *Renaissance* is attributed to the fact that it "[proposed] the creation of regional hubs comprising several museums rather than a single 'centre of excellence', and focused support on larger regional museums, rather than seeking to reach all local museums"; therefore, "[in] view of their larger visitor volumes and the breadth and depth of their collections, targeted investment of substantial funding in these museums might be expected to achieve a greater impact than spreading the resources more thinly" (Babbidge, 2005, p. 26). At this point, the strength of *Renaissance* reflects the weakness of Recognition in the view of larger museums. Unlike the focus of *Renaissance* on supporting larger regional museums, the Designation Scheme launched in 1997 has similar aims and objectives as the Recognition Scheme. The intention of Designation is to identify collections in England with national and international significance held in non-national institutions, including museums, libraries and archives, whereby it helps raise quality standards for the sector. Since 2002, the Designation Challenge Fund, with £13 million funding from *Renaissance*, has invested in Designated collections in museums; this will be replaced by the new Designation Development Fund, primarily providing £1.5 million from *Renaissance* for museums and additional funding for libraries and archives with Designated collections. Therefore, through the Designation Scheme and the *Renaissance* programme, a large deal of cash investment has gone into non-national museums in England and transformed them in areas such as basic cataloguing, conservation, interpretation and re-display of exhibits. Following that, other non-public investment has also come into the sector south of the border. In contrast, Scotland's Recognition Scheme appears problematic although the Scheme was generally welcomed, because there is at least one groundbreaking establishment focusing on non-national museums in Scotland now. A sentiment emerged in some of the interviews that Scotland has fallen behind with respect to support for the development of non-national museums. It was said that when

compared with the scope of investment in England, which has empirically transformed collections management, public access to the collections and so forth, the resources behind the Recognition Scheme in Scotland cannot bring about such a transformation yet:

In England, for example, the biggest investment by the central government to municipal museums is the *Renaissance in the Regions*, which is £300 million over 8 years [from 2001 up to 2009]. [...] So in fact there is no such a scheme in Scotland. I think we're having a lower status among museums [in the UK]. England also has the Designation Scheme, which is like Recognition - only Designation has millions of pounds for non-national museums that had collections of national significance and existed long before the *Renaissance in the Regions*. So [museums in England] have 15 years of much better investment. (Museum Manager E, 2009)

The Recognition Scheme is great, introduced this year as a plan for funding stream, but it actually hasn't got enough funding for all members. [...] That [the amounts of funding] are minimal compared to the multi-millions of the *Renaissance in the Regions* in England. And that comes down to the Scottish Government and really what they are going to do on a national scale and how they develop cultural policy. [...] I think the *Renaissance in the Regions* in England has a significant impact. There are always things to get better, but there isn't an equivalent up here [in Scotland]. (Museum Manager F, 2009)

Certainly, as demonstrated earlier, the lack of a regional framework in Scotland and the organisational difference between the MGS and the MLA could be the reason for different approaches in operation, or even make the comparison less meaningful if considering respective infrastructures and physical environments in Scotland and England. The MGS itself is a small organisation, representing the whole range of museums in Scotland. Hence from the perspective of the MGS, although museums are different in size, all members have equal issues in terms of staff and resources, yet with different characteristics or on different scales and levels of complexity. For example, industrial museums, which in general are large-scale, would call for financial support to help with their huge expenses for general upkeep and maintenance of the industrial heritage. On the other hand, for smaller museums problems may become especially focused on staff despite different requirements addressed in individual museums. In that sense, while the amount in grants available through the Registration Scheme is subject to future funding from the Scottish Government, the MGS considers the situation of smaller organisations in dealing with applications. To simplify the application

process, the MGS tends to assess an amount for a year, and sometimes up to two rounds are offered via a funding scheme under the current circumstances. In addition, the focal point of the Recognition Scheme is to make the collections of national importance outside the Nationals 'recognised' by the public. In this regard, the Recognition has made progress. Hence, the arguments against the Recognition Scheme highlighting different requirements for funding can be understood as anticipation of the improvement of the Recognition Scheme as well as future development of the principle and mechanism to support the sector in Scotland.

Indeed, all museums can make their own cases for asking for more resources, and some cases may contain a political interest or a strong local sense. The MGS is surely aware of the arguments above, yet special attention is paid to smaller museums here, with an interviewee pointing to the relatively weak position of smaller museums in the policy process and the role of MGS in lobbying issues for all members:

[The Nationals] report directly into the [Scottish] Government - big lobbying power, but they are completely different organisations from tiny museums - small collections may be on an island in Scotland. If [the MGS] weren't putting a case for them, the [Scottish] Government would be being influenced very strongly by the big organisations. And you could find all the important collections get pulled in the centre, sort of pulling in the power. So in a sense [the MGS is] sort of balancing that. (Board member, MGS, 2009)

While the MGS continues speaking for members and developing a role in the policy process, a new Museums Think Tank including a group of ten professionals from the sector was formed to work with the Scottish Government for museum policy development following the Museums Summit on 2nd June 2009. Issues⁵¹ addressed in the Museum Summit have been taken forward by the Think Tank; seven meetings⁵² were held from September 2009 through 2010 with the

⁵¹ These issues include: the sector's contribution to Scottish society and the economy; roles, responsibilities and resources between national and local provision; challenges facing Scotland's industrial museums; and the importance of maximising resources (Scottish Government, 2009c)

⁵² See Museums Think Tank meeting minutes:
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/CulturalPolicy/museums-policy/think-tank/firstmeeting>;
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/CulturalPolicy/museums-policy/think-tank/secondmeeting>;
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/CulturalPolicy/museums-policy/think->

provision of advice on development of a new policy framework for the sector in the longer term. Two key strands of work were followed; other issues, including work on a sustainable future for industrial collections and funding priorities in relation to museum provision at national and local level, e.g. a revised Recognition Scheme, were considered at the same time. The work of 'Making the Case' was carried on to identify the contribution of museums and galleries, with examples which were also aligned with strategic objectives of the Scottish Government in the National Performance Framework. The effort on 'Working Methods' was directed towards developing models of partnership working and collaboration, e.g. a regional framework, while taking into account funding streams in the face of current economic downturn. In particular, the capacity of the MGS was acknowledged by the Think Tank from the beginning of the process. While the MGS offered its knowledge of and contact with the sector to assist the work of the Think Tank, its role and value as well as the effectiveness of funding through it were also reviewed within the consideration of a new policy framework. Given the diversity of the sector, a unified voice and a clear national strategy for the whole sector was urged (Scottish Government, 2010f, 2010g, 2010h, 2010i).

The full recommendations of the Think Tank have been detailed in a report published in early December 2010, followed by the Scottish Government's response a few days later. The Think Tank has proposed to set up a National Development Body (NDB) as a non-membership, independent organisation which will be responsible for the development of a National Strategy and have functions of distributing grants, implementing policy, offering professional support for the sector, and providing advice on museum matters to the Scottish Government and local authorities. One option for the establishment of the NDB is to reconstitute the MGS, but the future form of the MGS is for the Scottish Government, the sector and the MGS to consider and decide. The proposed NDB

tank/thirdmeeting;
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/CulturalPolicy/museums-policy/think-tank/fourthmeeting>;
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/CulturalPolicy/museums-policy/think-tank/fifthmeeting>;
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/CulturalPolicy/museums-policy/think-tank/sixthmeeting>;
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/CulturalPolicy/museums-policy/think-tank/seventhmeeting>

will be supported with strategic advice by a Museums and Galleries Forum, involving a small group of key decision makers who are well-informed by the sector (Museums Think Tank, 2010; Scottish Government, 2010j, 2010k, 2010l). It is worth noting that the connection of the NDB and Creative Scotland was discussed by the Think Tank (yet not mentioned in the report), and there was concern for museums and galleries “lost” within the structure of Creative Scotland for its “different remit and business model” (Scottish Government, 2010j). Both recommendations for establishing an NDB and a Forum have been supported by the Scottish Government, yet the government has clarified that no new public bodies will be set up on account of the Think Tank report. Hence, the government is currently working with the MGS and key players to further develop the framework of supporting the sector, and announcements of new arrangements, including the National Strategy and whether the MGS will undertake the remit of the NDB, are expected in early February and early March 2011 (Scottish Government, 2010m), which is significant to the future development of Scotland’s museum sector.

CONCLUSION

Structural elements of different public systems are one of the major concepts of the research into the dynamics of the policy process. This chapter has achieved identification of different national approaches to the governance of museums and individual specification of the institutional factors involved in the making and implementation of cultural policy in Taiwan and Scotland.

In the preceding chapters, the historical context of cultural policy and museums has made clear the transforming views of museums in relation to the political, economic and social environments of a nation in a particular time. By 2007 and 2008, the changes of government in Scotland and Taiwan had respectively marked another milestone for the inspection of the development of cultural policy and museums. In this chapter, the difference between the public systems has been reflected in the issues that the governments seek to address and the approaches that the governments adopt.

In Taiwan, publicly funded museums are part of the civil service system. As the government has been devoted to the restructuring of the central administrative system, the directions of reform have had various consequences on the museum sector. One of the major consequences is the development of certain operational independence from the bureaucratic structure through the advocacy of public-private partnerships or entrepreneurialism in the running of museums. There have been a few testimonies of privatisation indicating that the key to successful outsourcing is to consider the functions of a museum in its context for the goals of both public and private sides, whereas corporatisation for museums has been kept on hold. Instead, preparatory arrangements (i.e. the Operation Fund introduced by the Ministry of Education to subordinate national museums) have been carried out to build up museums' organisational autonomy and financial efficiency before wider implementation of the corporatisation policy in the sector. On the other hand, there appears a tendency of centralisation over cultural matters despite decentralisation as a principle of the public reform, and the awareness of museums as a specific policy subject seems to have increased. Although there has not been a clear museum strategy in this stage except for the planned institution of a Museum Act as a national standard for the sector, it has shown a direction in which the governance of museums is gradually moving from an educational system towards a cultural framework in the reform process. Furthermore, within the context of culture, museum affairs have been selected out of the scope of heritage and become an identifiable operation despite overlapped undertakings existing internally within the CCA. There is likely to be further development from this, given the current KMT government's effort in enacting the Public Service Act, where museums are considered in the mapping of the forthcoming Ministry of Culture, which promises an extended and modernised capacity in excess of the existing institution of the CCA. The restructuring would allow the current arrangements for museums to be reviewed as well as museum matters to be fit into the whole picture of cultural policy undertaken by the Ministry of Culture along with other interlinking concepts, e.g. community building, cultural heritage, the cultural and creative industries, and visual arts, as noted previously.

In Scotland, the priority has been the development of the national cultural infrastructure within which the museum sector has been individually identified

while occasionally being considered as part of the broader cultural heritage sector. Since the *National Cultural Strategy* of 2000, policy initiatives concerned with museums have centred on partnership working, emphasising the role of the Nationals as well as promoting regional cooperation by means of a short period of project-based funding. It has shown that there have been calls for a comprehensive review of structure for a strategic way forward for the museum sector. In that regard, a development framework for museums at all levels across Scotland, and the role and responsibility of key players, have been most concerned. However, it appears that the emphasis of accountability continues driving policy development. The SNP government has adopted an instrumental approach where public services are required to work in line with the National Performance Framework to deliver 'national outcomes' - the government's priorities. In terms of museums, accountability is determined by the UK-wide and Scotland-wide national standards for the sector as well as various overarching quality models whereby funding is justified. The conception of the Recognition Scheme has reflected such concentration on national performance standards. As the Recognition Scheme was regarded as a breakthrough regarding national funding for non-national museums, the recent formation of the Museums Think Tank is actually a marker that museum policy has been put at the forefront of the government's agenda for the first time since devolution - the Think Tank is also required to align their work with the National Performance Framework as it develops the case for museums. While the need for a revolutionary change of the current framework has been critically pointed out, the Think Tank's proposal of a National Development Body (NDB) in combination with an advisory forum to allow a unified voice for the diverse sector has prompted attention to the functions of the MGS. The chapter has found that the MGS as a membership organisation in one way is responsible for providing services to its members, while in another way it works on behalf of the government - which is the organisation's core funding source. The MGS engages in the implementation of governmental policy and acts as a facilitator in the process. It has the expertise to assist the government with advice on museum issues yet has no direct influence on policy decisions. As noted, suspicion was aroused - given its membership - when a political role of the MGS (then the SMC) developed in the 1980s (see Chapter Five), and confusion over the structure was caused by the increased focus on the Nationals' input to nation-wide sector

development since devolution. In addition, because of recent severe global economic recession, the UK's public services sector has encountered cutbacks in public spending, which has subsequent influence on Scotland. Decisions made at Westminster concern Scotland in particular following the change of the UK government; for example, the new UK government's plans for public reform as part of the cuts has led to the announcement in July 2010 of the abolishment of the MLA in the near future (DCMS, 2010), which is an alert to Scotland's museum sector; the implication within Scotland has been considered by the Think Tank (Museums Think Tank, 2010). In addition, negotiations over Scotland's taxation powers are already under way between Westminster and Holyrood, which would affect public spending on devolved matters in Scotland. Therefore, as the SNP government is pondering the options in this stage, how the new framework turns out eventually determines the position of the MGS and is significant to future development of museum policy.

So far, the thesis has outlined the national contexts of Taiwan and Scotland concerning cultural policy and museums from historical and structural perspectives. The following chapter uses six case studies where museums are located in their national settings to deliberately link the historical and structural causes and consequences to the practice of museums and the policy issues concerned.

Chapter Seven : CASE STUDIES

Chapter Seven demonstrates the analysis of the six cases studied in this cross-national comparative research. In order, these cases are: the National Palace Museum (Taiwan), the National Taiwan Museum (Taiwan), the National Galleries of Scotland (Scotland), Glasgow Museums (Scotland), the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery (Scotland), and the Taipei Story House (Taiwan). Based on the historical and institutional analyses in the previous chapters, each case is explained by specifying its features within its national context.

CASE 1: NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM

HISTORICAL BURDEN AND PRIVILEGE

As shown in the preceding chapters, the National Palace Museum's ministerial-level position in the central administrative structure is related to its background, as its establishment resulted from a climate of Chinese cultural hegemony under the party-state Nationalist government. This status has provided the Museum advantages in terms of power and resources. Relatively speaking, this privilege inevitably entails political intervention to a large extent. Its unique history and identity have made its role in some way different from any other national museum, or indeed any museum, in Taiwan. In terms of the level of financing, the National Palace Museum has been marked as a unique case: it has an independent annual budget as well as its own acquisition fund, in comparison with funding for other national museums, which is attached to an overall budget of the Ministry of Education or the CCA. It appears that the term 'national' has different meanings between the National Palace Museum and other national museums in Taiwan, and this raises an immediate question - what has made the Museum so distinct from others?

The historic importance of the National Palace Museum has been emphasised regardless of which political party is in power. Some of the interviewees in this research pointed this out:

Speaking of its role in society, it is generally agreed that the National Palace Museum is essential, significant and unique in terms of the conservation of Chinese arts and culture. [...] Therefore, the high recognition of the Museum's importance equally indicates the society's great expectations for it. (Museum Manager C, 2009)

It is hard to speak [about the position of the National Palace Museum]. It symbolises a special historical sequence [...] and thus its collection constitutes a representation of the political authority. [...] Certainly it has transformed in these years, yet the Museum's historical origin has made it distinctive in the views of the government and the public. (Former Director of the National Palace Museum, 2009)

As a result, "[t]he issues concerned with the National Palace Museum are usually very political in Taiwan" (Senior Executive of the CCA, 2009). The Museum's political power is hard to miss, and usually the general public is very sensitive about any matter relating to the Museum. Policy-making, decisions and actions regarding the Museum, such as public reform and its plan for a branch museum, easily obtain media attention, open debates and cause controversy in current polity. Speaking of public reform, the position of the National Palace Museum is most ambiguous. Its current status - subordinate to the Executive Yuan - appears to be politically incorrect considering that it is not an administrative body. Yet the necessity of keeping its superiority by some means is almost unquestioned despite different political recognitions, because it is regarded as the most important museum in Taiwan. All respondents supposed that in this public reform the National Palace Museum would either maintain its status quo or be restructured under the Office of the President without any other change to its governance, e.g. the existing level of funding. Although many respondents felt it would be a healthier sector if the National Palace Museum was equivalent to all other national museums, the respondents believed the possibility of restructuring the National Palace Museum within the scope of the forthcoming Ministry of Culture in this stage was very small, in consideration of the capability of the Ministry of Culture based on the powerless CCA, the representation of the Museum to the public, and the Museum's political meaning, particularly in the cross-strait relations and in the international sphere. Also, in the view of the people who work in it, it would be a huge personal downgrade if the restructuring could not keep the level of the organisation. Hence, there seems to be no definite answer to the question of whether the National Palace Museum should be restructured under the Ministry of Culture because on a certain level

“this is a battle for political power” (Museum Manager H, 2009) that involves various individuals or groups. To reason the need for continuing the existing level of support, the respondents generally agreed that the scale and quality of its collection is undoubtedly superior to all other national museums. The cultural and historic importance of the Museum’s collection of Chinese civilisation is irreplaceable, which grants it advantages and strengths. Furthermore, its strong indicative features have inevitably made it a symbol of the country. Therefore, the National Palace Museum seems to be distinctive from museums in general for many reasons. However, there was concern that it would be risky for the Museum’s operation, and to an unexpected extent for the country, if the Museum was repositioned under the Ministry of Culture, supposing funding of the Museum would thus be less, especially when there has been no powerful regulator and clear structure for the whole museum sector yet. The respondents’ supposition became true when the Public Reform Act was passed in January 2010 - a year after the interviews were held. The Act ensures that the status of the National Palace Museum remains unchanged.

DIGITALISATION AND CREATIVITY

The financing level of the Museum is advantageous for its development. This is particularly evidenced by the Museum’s pioneering participation in digitisation projects in the policy climate of developing the digital content industries and the cultural and creative industries since the late 1990s, because these projects and attached funding are exclusively available to the ministerial-level bodies. Digitisation has played a significant role in the Museum’s transformation in recent years. Its digitisation projects can be divided into three parts: Digital Archives, Digital Museum and e-Learning, with an aim to adopt the latest digital technologies in preservation of the artefacts as well as more extensive applications and efficient promotion of them. All of the three primary projects are joined with wider national digital development campaigns. Based on the Digital Museum project, the fourth concept of Added-Value Applications has been developed to form a variety of economic models for the Museum’s intellectual property. Accompanied by a housing refurbishment project at the same time, the Museum has repositioned itself under the slogan ‘Old is New’ while transforming in the progress of digitisation (Lin, 2007).

DIGITAL ARCHIVES

The Digital Archives project at the Museum applies digital imaging technology to create a database and management system for the Museum's collection of over 650,000 objects. Meanwhile, the project sees the importance of preserving values where all the images are copyrighted through developing digital signatures to mark the Museum's intellectual property rights and enable effective control over further applications. The Digital Archives project is regarded as the foundation for the overall digital development initiatives of the Museum (Lin, 2007).

DIGITAL MUSEUM

The Digital Museum brings multiple dimensions to the Museum's new look. Meeting the need for museums to display artworks, it has enhanced the ways in which to understand and appreciate artefacts by advanced technology. Through the provision of theme websites, DVDs and multimedia display systems, the Museum's collection is creatively presented to the public outside the venue to locations such as airports, train and bus stations, cash points and homes. In addition, the Museum previously undertook sponsorship of filmmaking which featured the Museum's masterpieces or the craftsmanship behind the artefacts (Lin, 2007).

ADDED-VALUE APPLICATIONS

Technological applications in this respect are used beyond exhibitions and educational programmes and exploited in the context of cultural marketing. In addition to the provision of multimedia CD ROMs with contents of the theme sites, the Museum ventures into the design industry, inviting designers and design-majored students to create living products as well as cooperating with international companies, such as Italy's designer company Alessi. Different kinds of economic models are established for the Museum's intellectual property: image licensing, brand licensing and commissioned production. Each model is set upon the mechanism of royalties in accordance with France's Union of National Museums' standards (RMN, The Reunion des Musées Nationaux) and opinions from

the licensing industry whereby ranges of fixed-pricing or percentage charges are designed for various kinds of usages and cooperative activities (Lin, 2007).

E-LEARNING

Based on the materials of Digital Archives, the e-Learning project develops a virtual learning environment by means of digital learning models, social platforms (e.g. online communities for teachers) and teaching materials (e.g. online lessons). In the physical environment, the Museum adopts interactive devices to enhance visitor experience. School groups are able to combine online learning with on-site visit to increase the value of a museum education experience for pupils (Lin, 2007). However, the national digital learning campaign leans towards a concept of industry with an economic purpose rather than for a purely educational end. While most national digital projects are funded by the National Science Council, emphasising technological research and development, the digital learning campaign is mainly sponsored by the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Therefore, the campaign is intended to facilitate the industrial environment for content creators, platform creators and businesses.

Consequently, digitisation has brought an immense influence on many aspects of the Museum. Its transformation resulting from these projects was claimed by some of the interviewees. For instance, one interviewee described the Museum's public image as "changing from outdated to modern" which "has a lot to do with digitisation" (Former Director of the National Palace Museum, 2009). Although the beginning of such development was to exploit digital technologies in the basic work of the Museum as a response to the information age, the digital ideas have been expanded and used in enhancing visitor experience in terms of entertainment and learning. As explained in Chapter Two, interactivity is the main value of new media that contributes to both economic and social dimensions of museums. The National Palace Museum's digitisation projects outlined above show a combination of commercial and socio-cultural actions. Through these projects, the Museum in one way develops marketable products and services to meet audience demand and in another way improves access to its collection and inclusivity in its practice.

A POLITICAL TOOL?

It [The National Palace Museum] is in fact a political instrument, where its role alters following changes in policy direction. (Museum Manager H, 2009)

With the launch of these national digitisation projects, the National Palace Museum, regarded as the pioneer of Taiwan's museum sector, has been highly involved in and devoted to digital development. Next to supremacy in terms of core funding and project-based grants-in-aid, support for the National Palace Museum Southern Branch project is another story. The Southern Branch was a policy originally developed by the Museum - because it is a ministerial-level body - under the rule of the pro-Taiwan-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, 2000-2008). It was proposed to house a collection of Asian art and culture, implying a different direction than the National Palace Museum of Taipei, with an aim to develop "a new cultural consciousness of the links between Taiwan and the rest of Asia and the world" (National Palace Museum Southern Branch, 2008) - a demonstration of Taiwan-centric consciousness. An additional budget was made for the project. In the light of 'balance the South and the North' - which has been the DPP's political tactic because the DPP tends to win the vote in the constituencies of the South and the Museum is located in the capital, Taipei City, in the North, the project was set to build a branch of the National Palace Museum outside Taipei. Despite its political intention, the Southern Branch project is seen as a significant opportunity for local development, and in the end Chiayi County, in Central-South Taiwan, was chosen out of a few bidding local authority areas. However, as noted, the local authority has only minor influence on the project by communicating local cultural needs with the Museum.

Despite leading the project, the Museum has encountered external pressures and the project has caused much negativity. As mentioned above, it is unlikely that a matter relating to the Museum could be determined for its own sake. Politics has brought the Museum some advantages as well as some disadvantages. For example, its opening was postponed from 2008 to 2010 once⁵³ because its further

⁵³ The opening of the Southern Branch has been delayed a few times afterwards, for reasons such as a contract dispute with the architect and reconsideration of the construction plan. The latest announcement suggests its opening in 2015.

budget was withheld in the Legislative Yuan due to disagreement between parties. In fact, as the Southern Branch was a major project proposed during the DPP regime, more arguments and uncertainty regarding the future of the Southern Branch have arisen since the KMT returned to power in 2008. This reveals that while funding is based on a yearly agreement, which is restricted to government regulations, it is difficult to enable forward planning and ensure consistency and continuity of practice so as to enhance independence of a museum, especially when there is a change in political circumstances.

Instead, the intention of the new KMT government to revive cross-strait relations has offered the Museum a new angle from which to develop operational strategies to align with the government's priorities and acquire funding opportunities. There have been professional exchanges and cooperation between the National Palace Museum of Taipei and the Palace Museum of Beijing. From the DPP's initiative of establishing the Southern Branch to the KMT's tendency towards improving cross-strait relations, it is obvious that the strategic direction and implementation of the Museum has been greatly affected by the political context. As a result, museums become a platform for interpretation of government policies and a key to political performance (Hsu, 2003a; Chen, 2006). In this case, there appears to be an interdependent relationship between the Museum and the government, where the Museum can have access to additional funding while the government can have a stage for demonstrating a party's performance. Thus, the Museum has developed its role in the political context which constantly reinforces its position of significance.

Two perspectives can be drawn in terms of the empowering process of the National Palace Museum. First, the importance of the National Palace Museum giving it structural advantages has been furthered by missions derived from those advantages, and these new missions have enhanced its role of importance once more. Because of the creation of its sacred and powerful image in relation to an authoritarian political history, it is used as a political instrument regardless of which political party is in power. Forty years ago under the party-state dictatorship of the KMT, the Museum was the medium of promoting Chinese culture and nationalistic education. It was described as "a multi-oriented institution" (Museum Manager H, 2009) whose operation has been closely linked to central government's policies. In addition, the Museum Director is a

ministerial post, so the Museum's performance is related to political achievements of the Director, the Cabinet and the party in power. For example, the most significant development of the National Palace Museum in recent years is the transformation of its image. Through engagement in digitisation projects and the adoption of the cultural and creative industries concept, the Museum has undergone a process of modernisation. The idea of creative economy is embodied in the Museum's cultural marketing work. Through creative projects, the marketing function enhances the Museum's image and promotes it on an international level; therefore, the Museum has developed its role in cultural diplomacy. Diplomacy is a difficult task for Taiwan as regards its unresolved relationship with China. The management of international relations is more workable in spheres beyond pure politics. Hence, international cultural exchange where the National Palace Museum can be a visible player has diplomatic-level significance for Taiwan. The significance is also shown in the cross-strait relations under the current KMT government; as mentioned above, interaction is increased between the National Palace Museum of Taipei and the Palace Museum of Beijing.

Second, the privilege of the National Palace Museum is reflected in the relative weakness of the CCA. For instance, when the CCA introduced a bill for its organisational reform in 2002, it happened to suggest the arrangement of restructuring the National Palace Museum within the scope of the CCA for the future Ministry of Culture. The proposal for restructuring the CCA as a whole was rejected by the Legislative Yuan due to a failure in reaching a consensus on the very point of situating the National Palace Museum. As remarked, a revised bill for the CCA's organisational reform was due to put forward in 2009; this time, the CCA remained neutral on this subject to avoid being haunted by controversy over the status of the National Palace Museum. In fact, the National Palace Museum has a longer history of being a ministerial-level body than the CCA's existence. For the last forty years, the Museum has operated almost separately. It is difficult to take on trust the CCA's capability of governing museums, especially governing a superstar museum. It is a considerable question how the resources for the National Palace Museum can be maintained in the scope of the CCA. For those who support equalising the level of all national museums, this can only happen when the Ministry of Culture is established with sufficient

resources, capacity and professional proficiency. Hence, for the relatively powerless CCA, the National Palace Museum becomes an untouchable subject. The solution to the balance of its privilege and equality in the sector will be an issue to observe after the establishment of the Ministry of Culture as well as the legislation of the Museum Act, whereby a fair and reasonable system for the sector is expected to be created.

CASE 2: NATIONAL TAIWAN MUSEUM

THE CHANGES OF GOVERNANCE

Comparatively, the National Taiwan Museum (1908) has a history half a century longer than the National Palace Museum (1965).⁵⁴ Different from the National Palace Museum's collection of Chinese civilisation, the National Taiwan Museum has a significant collection of Taiwan's natural history. The establishment of the National Taiwan Museum was part of the activities for the launch of the North-South Railway in 1908 in order to demonstrate the Japanese colonial government's industrial achievements in Taiwan. The current site of the Museum housed the collection and opened to public in 1915, although it was initially designed for a commemorative purpose. This building, combining Renaissance and Baroque styles, was situated at the centre of the capital, the city of Taipei, which started to develop under the previous dynastic administration of the Qing. The construction of the Museum was considered within wider urban planning mostly for the convenience of the Japanese colonists and residents in Taipei, and became one of the most remarkable public spaces during the Japanese occupation (Chen et al., 2008).

However, due to its Japanese colonial background, the past turned into an obstacle for its development under the Chinese Nationalist government's decolonisation policy. With the Chinese cultural hegemony at that time, on the one hand the Museum was fortunately sustained; on the other hand its position was downgraded from central level to provincial level. While the National Palace Museum benefited from the rule with an advantageous status, the National Taiwan Museum received a lower level of financing. In addition, while the remit

⁵⁴ This refers to the establishment of museums on Taiwan.

for social education was imposed on the national museums established by the Nationalist government, the Museum's essential character, e.g. the subject of natural history and a Taiwan-centric viewpoint, was mixed by the activities driven by policy with other orientations, as previously outlined in Chapter Four.

Following the streamlining of the provincial government in 1998, authority over the National Taiwan Museum was transferred to the CCA, and heritage status was granted to the museum building. At present, its core operation relies almost completely on funding via the CCA. As discussed earlier, the capacity of the CCA in museum governance is questioned and its role in supporting the sector is developing. The fact that the CCA used to include museum matters within the scope of cultural heritage - a focal policy area to which the CCA has long been committed - reflects that the development of the Museum under the governance of the CCA has been to a certain extent influenced by the cultural heritage policy in combination with a localised concept.

THE DEVELOPING NATIONAL TAIWAN MUSEUM SYSTEM

Since the original design of the Museum's building was for commemoration, there has been always a problem of inappropriate and inadequate space for display and storage of the collection. In addition, the landscape of Taipei City has changed largely over time, with economic development and sequential urban planning. Compared with the past, the Museum building is no longer an important landmark of Taipei. Hence, next to the work of interior renovation, the CCA worked with the Museum and proposed a National Taiwan Museum System project for its future development. The aim of the project was to rebuild the relationship between the Museum and its changing environment. This included the extension of the Museum's services by means of accommodating the work in three industrial heritage sites in the same area and establishing underground connection between these sites and the Museum to form the National Taiwan Museum System. The anticipation of this project was advanced by aspects of the ecomuseum concept, whereby the capital's new projects of urban design, transport and tourism were taken into account in conjunction with the city's cultural resources, e.g. museums and parks in the neighbourhood. By

integrating heritage, existing resources and new developments, it was intended to create a cultural cluster in the capital (Chen et al., 2008).

Although the blueprint made by the CCA and the Museum was supported by the central government and the local authority, the size of a special budget for the project approved by the Legislative Yuan in 2006 could only support the restoration of the four heritage sites (including the three industrial heritage sites and the original Museum site). As a result, hitherto each site appears as a separate entity, although the overall action is seen as an extension of the Museum. These developing identities of the new National Taiwan Museum System include two museums of natural history, a museum dedicated to traditional industries and a museum specialising in the history of Taiwan's modernisation, e.g. the development of transport, postal services and communication infrastructures (Chen et al., 2008).

THE UNCERTAIN STATUS

Nevertheless, the current principle of separate governance structures makes the Museum's position uncertain. It was once discussed at the time of the streamlining of the provincial government; as a result, the long-existing internal problems of the Museum were revealed negatively. Since the Ministry of Education showed no interest in the governance of the Museum and there grew a trend of recognising museums as cultural institutions rather than social education institutions, the authority of the Museum was assigned to the CCA. The National Museum of Natural Science under the Ministry of Education provided professional support to the Museum's inventorying work afterwards. It was then realised that the scientific research and collection of the Museum could be linked to the other science-oriented national museums under the Ministry of Education. While the principle of separate governance appears during the process of change, the positioning of the Museum has been reconsidered in the ministerial coordination between the Ministry of Education and the CCA regarding the governing authority over national institutions, as mentioned in the previous chapter. However, the principle seems to be a conditional rule in response to the complexity in the reform process. It is not a regulated arrangement and requires further communication between the two bodies in

consideration of the organisation of the upcoming Ministry of Culture. Therefore, variables existing in the governance structures, accordingly the policies and regulations, and the resources, continue to have an impact on the strategic and operational contexts of the Museum.

Regardless of whether the Museum will be governed by the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Education in the future, its national-level source of support is ensured; therefore, national-level accountability of the Museum is required. In opposition to the National Palace Museum's empowering trail, the National Taiwan Museum was relatively underdeveloped. It was not until the DPP administration that the influence of politics on the Museum began to appear differently. The Museum's Japanese colonial past - a non-Chinese, unique Taiwanese history - and its Taiwan-centric collection provided the rationale for the DPP's political arguments. The National Taiwan Museum System project, supported by the DPP government, contained an underlying meaning of strengthening national identity (Wei, 2005) where a few ideological codes including the terms 'national', 'Taiwan', 'capital' and 'culture' were used, combined and emphasised in public statements regarding the project. However, the superficial symbols have not been transcended as anticipated - because of the fact that eventually the funding was only partially granted. Behind various considerations for this funding decision, there was the conflict between Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism: how the DPP used the Museum as the material for politics was not acceptable for those in the opposition, which caused a reverse effect on the project's implementation. In a polarised political situation, the excessive emphasis on 'Taiwan' and 'nation' was particularly seen as suspiciously against the DPP in terms of separatism; this can happen in an opposite way as well, where issues relating to national museums with Chinese contents, e.g. the National Palace Museum, are sometimes targeted against the KMT. As a result, a level of cautiousness can be seen in national museums in dealing with historical topics and national or cultural identities. Ironically, as commented, the Japanese colonial origin and the collection of natural history of the National Taiwan Museum in some way helped reduce such tension in comparison with the other two CCA-funded museums established under the DPP rule: the National Museum of Taiwanese Literature and the National Museum of Taiwan History. While these Taiwan-centric museums were recognised as

significant by the previous DPP administration, the museums in their own right are relatively ignored in the current political environment; for example, the National Museum of Taiwan History is required to extend its range of work to what is “not only about Taiwan’s history” (Museum Manager A, 2009). In this regard, the Japanese colonial background and the work in the field of natural science have spared the Museum from further political intervention, compared with those in the same governance structure yet originating from a Taiwanese nationalistic background and related to the subject of cultural history.

Here, the Museum’s distinct features have aided in explaining how nationalisms in the political realm have an immense impact on policy initiatives for museums and museums’ operation, especially at national level. In addition to nationalistic causes, the Museum faces uncertainty resulting from the indefinite arrangements in the public reform. Certainly, differences exist in respective governance structures. The aforementioned ongoing negotiation between the two bodies responsible for the sector is a factor to be continuously observed. As it remains in the governance of the CCA at the current stage, the prospect of the National Taiwan Museum would be determined by the profile of the forthcoming Ministry of Culture in terms of resource and expertise as well as the extent to which the sector would be generally cared for by the government. As identified from the examples of experimental implementation of policy in Chapter Six, decisions made in relation to short-term governmental concerns have had an impact on relevant museums’ long-term planning and operation. In this case, historically and presently the National Taiwan Museum’s development has been definitely affected by short-term policies due to the changes in politics relating to nationalism and the restructuring process.

CASE 3: NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND

FIVE GALLERIES, THREE COMPLEXES, ONE ORGANISATION

Located in Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS) contain five galleries set in three complexes: the National Gallery Complex, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and the Modern Art Galleries. The National Gallery Complex is made up of the National Gallery of Scotland and

the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) Building, connected by the Weston Link - an underground space for visitor-serving facilities and temporary international exhibitions. Although built for separate frameworks at different times, the buildings of the RSA and the National Gallery of Scotland are both designed by the architect William Henry Playfair (1790-1857) and stand close beside each other, which seems to reflect their inseparable histories in the development of the Scottish art field since the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ The Complex was created by The Playfair Project, including the extensive refurbishment of the RSA Building, completed in 2003, and the construction of the Weston Link, completed in 2004, with funding of £10 million from the Scottish Executive and £7.56 million from the HLF (NGS, 2010a, 2010b).

The opening of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1889 was the contribution of enthusiastic individuals rather than the government. The founding of the Portrait Gallery was directed and sponsored by John Ritchie Findlay (1824 -1898), the main owner of *The Scotsman* at that time, who presented the Gallery to the UK government. It was built for the purpose of displaying portraits of Scots. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the original National Gallery of Scotland and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, built in the second half of the nineteenth century in response to the demand of Scottish society, were a reflection of nationalism in a unionist political environment. In addition to the national collection of portraits, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery is now the home of the Scottish National Photography Collection as well. The Gallery has been closed from April 2009 to undertake a major restoration project, Portraits of the Nation, for which both the Scottish Government and the HLF have announced support, with funding of £5.1 million and £4.5 million respectively (Scottish Government, 2007b; HLF, 2009).

The Modern Art Galleries, containing the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art and the nearby Dean Gallery, are relatively new. The Gallery of Modern Art was

⁵⁵ The RSA Building was originally the base of the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland (RI), opened in 1828. The RSA, formed by a group of artists separating from the RI, called for the establishment of Scotland's own National Gallery. The new building of the National Gallery of Scotland finally opened to the public in 1859, housing the RSA and the National Gallery, whose collection was mainly transferred from the RI's collection. In 1906, a change was enacted to make the RI Building the home of the RSA, known as the RSA Building thereafter. The two buildings have been connected by the Weston Link since 2004. See *National Gallery Complex History & Architecture* on the NGS's website (<http://www.nationalgalleries.org/visit/page/2:121:2>).

first founded in Inverleith House, located within the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, in 1960 to accommodate a small part of the collection of the National Gallery of Scotland dating from 1900 and a large part acquired after 1960, and moved to the current site in 1984. The Dean Gallery opened on the facing side in 1999 to house a specific collection of modern and contemporary art, e.g. the Dada and Surrealism collection and the work of Sir Eduardo Paolozzi - an Edinburgh-born sculptor. Unlike the other National Galleries, which were purpose-built and recently or presently experiencing major redevelopments, these two Galleries are housed in historic buildings: the Gallery of Modern Art was originally a school and the Dean Gallery was formerly built as an orphanage.

GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

The NGS is governed on behalf of the Scottish Government by a Board of Trustees established under the National Galleries of Scotland Act of 1906 with the purpose of the Board and further provision revised in the National Heritage (Scotland) Act of 1985. Up to 12 trustees are appointed by the Culture Minister through an open process. In an operational context, all the National Galleries serve as one institution. There is a Director-General assigned by the Board overseeing the operation of the NGS on top of a management team. The common functions among all the National Galleries, e.g. marketing, press, finance, information technology (IT), human resources, estates, conservation and collection management, are exercised by several central departments, the heads of which sit in the management team together with the Director of each gallery complex. In other words, these functional departments work across all the National Galleries. As noted, such a management structure is more economical in comparison with separate management of each gallery, considering the duplication of work and additional staff required for those shared tasks. As well, the new international exhibition space in the National Gallery Complex is shared for the use of special exhibitions organised by all the National Galleries. On the other hand, it was also recognised that it is important to retain the individuality of the three complexes, as they all have different roles to play in respective professional fields of art as well as satisfying different audiences. It is challenging to provide services to three different types of organisations with different needs in relation to their subjects. Therefore, the

NGS has engaged in an undertaking to improve organisational efficiency and management structure where the National Performance Framework is taken into account, with a new corporate plan under way.

While retaining the distinctiveness of each complex, all National Galleries are directed towards the corporate plan of the NGS, since ultimately the NGS is one institution with one collective resource. The NGS is directly supported by the Scottish Government with an annual fund of £12 million and additional government investment in capital projects, as mentioned earlier. It was said that next to staff wages, the majority of this core funding is used for the maintenance of the buildings - all of them are historical and some of them were not built as art galleries. As a result, there is a relatively small portion left to spend on activities. Certainly the NGS has the expertise to make decisions on its own management, such as corporate strategies, acquisitions and exhibitions. However, as the government is the prime funder, the direction of the National Galleries is to a considerable extent influenced by the government. Usually there is no extra funding to support the specific areas of work highlighted by the government. In that sense, the NGS has to distribute the limited resources of core funding by making organisational priorities to perform on the government's agendas, which leads to less money available for other activities:

We have to make choices. And if [...] the government decides that we need to do more outreach work, need to work more with local communities, so there has to be more funding into this. We have to probably stop doing something else to enable to do that. You can't do everything; you just don't have enough money to do everything. And it's unlikely the government will give us any more money because the government does not have any money left. (Museum Manager D, 2009)

Despite that, speaking of national funding the Nationals are entitled to, there appears a general assumption that the Nationals have a greater advantage in accessing resources - this is also mentioned in the case study of Glasgow Museums. Yet, as a defence for the Nationals against the assumption, it was argued that non-national museums have different advantages which the Nationals are not able to benefit from:

In many regions we [the Nationals] have less money. [...] we get such small amount of funding from our government, and we have created a lot for our own funding, whereas local museums and galleries are

funded from local authorities and they can choose how much funding to spend on culture within their local authorities. For example in Glasgow they have more museums than we do and they have much bigger budget [...], which is not what presses [...]. That's very difficult for us to see why they think they have less money in their disadvantage for we can't see that disadvantage. That's interesting. Also in Edinburgh there are museums funded through local council through different ways. The difference is also local authorities can perhaps apply for different funding streams that we can't. A lot of funding bodies won't fund national institutions because we are government-funded bodies, but they may fund local museums likewise [...]. (Museum Manager D, 2009)

Indeed, government-funded national museums and galleries are excluded from some funding streams, as pointed out in the previous chapter. Since the sponsorship of the private sector is irregular and depends on all sorts of variables, it was realised that there is a need for different solutions to fundraising, e.g. commercial activities, a better understanding of the organisation, and different ways of thinking with regard to the overall operation, to enable an organisational change. The comment here has identified the general competitive reality of public funding in the museum sector and confirmed the concern for the balance between national and local provision in terms of roles, responsibilities and resources, which was one of the issues raised in the Museum Summit and deliberated by the Museums Think Tank (see Chapter Six) - the concern is also addressed from a local point of view in the case study of Glasgow Museums.

THE NATIONAL REMITS

Such a process of change in internal management is also a reaction to the external environment. For example, the National Performance Framework introduced by the Scottish Government in 2007, as discussed in the previous chapter, is now the main reference for the sector to develop organisational strategies. At first, the NGS was suggested by the Scottish Government to look into the corporate plan to find the link between the organisational objectives and the national outcomes. As noted, it was actually not difficult to fit into the national picture, although there was concern that culture was not taken into consideration by the government in the first instance. The NGS's corporate plan 2007-2010, published in 2008, outlines the NGS's core values, priorities and

objectives, which respond to the national outcomes of the National Performance Framework. According to a respondent, the NGS has found that the work of the NGS has naturally reflected its contribution to the Framework (Museum Manager D, 2009). Five were specifically identified out of the 15 national outcomes set in the Framework (Scottish Government, 2007a, p. 46):

- We are better educated, more skilled and more successful, renowned for our research and innovation.
- Our young people are successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens.
- We take pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity.
- We reduce the local and global environmental impact of our consumption and production.
- Our public services are high quality, continually improving, efficient and responsive to local people's needs.

Accordingly, the link to the national outcomes is reflected by the corporate plan where the core values of the NGS are specified by six points (Trustees of the NGS, 2008, p. 4):

- Excellence: We are committed to quality in all areas of our activity and our services.
- Innovation: The NGS should lead rather than follow.
- Inspiration: A commitment to learning and education is central to the NGS.
- Service: As an institution we are welcoming and accessible.
- Creativity: The NGS nurtures talent and invests in people.
- Integrity: We are open, transparent and dedicated to public service.

In addition, in the Artistic and Business Priorities within the corporate plan, the NGS in particular shows its commitment to addressing the priorities set by the Scottish Government as a national cultural institution, including contributing to economic development through education and tourism, delivering green

initiatives to reduce environmental impact, improving efficiency and value for money for the provision of public services, such as working closely with the other National Collections bodies, and so on (Trustees of the NGS, 2008, pp. 6-7). Following that, it begins the stage of carrying out necessary work to demonstrate to the government how these outcomes are being delivered.

Nevertheless, while aligning to the high-level issues, the development of the NGS is leaning towards a prioritised direction, where there is a need to balance it with traditional functions in terms of collection and exhibition. This issue is certainly associated with the aforementioned limit of overall budget for the capital and running costs, as well as core activities and some development initiatives. For example, as digitisation is recognised as an important area for the future by the NGS regarding digital access to the collection and commercial potential, the cost for the digital work has been paid for by central funds - therefore, there is not much extra money in this. Comparatively, in the case of the National Palace Museum, there is a special budget for digital development in accordance with national technological policy, whereby the National Palace Museum has access to further resources for its own digitisation projects by participating in national digital campaigns. Hence, the challenge for digitisation in the case of the NGS is the fact that the significance of digitisation to the sector is not promoted by the government as a specific area of development. Instead, it is seen as part of the general operation. Although the MGS published a Digital Content Action Framework 2008-2011 (2008), aiming to support members engaging in digital development, funding is on a project basis through the existing grant schemes for all kinds of improvement projects - as outlined in Chapter Six. Furthermore, while the economic potential of engaging in creative activities has been shown in the case of the National Palace Museum in relation to digital work, it appears that digital development is rather a consideration in the process of change as a practical solution to the NGS's financing at present than a clear ambition of being involved in the promotion of the creative industries. It was noted that there was little connection at that moment between the NGS and the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) - which has been joined with Scottish Screen to form Creative Scotland. While the NGS and the then SAC both worked with artists, the SAC focused on a grassroots movement and the NGS emphasised the collection. The separate directions seem to correspond to

the thought of the Museums Think Tank when discussing the links between the proposed National Development Body (NDB) with Creative Scotland, despite the recognition of museums' role in driving the creative industries, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

It was mentioned earlier that national funding for the Nationals implies a degree of accountability, or the national remits, and the practice of the Nationals reflects how the government interprets the role of the Nationals. As a national cultural institution, the NGS is surely regarded as a representation of Scottish national culture. As noted earlier, the NGS has identified the outcome of celebrating national identity, set in the National Performance Framework, as one of the areas it can contribute to. Although it will take a long period to see how the NGS can deliver on the Framework, it was felt that under the SNP administration there has been increased attention to international engagement. The role of the NGS in an international setting is obviously related to raising the profile of Scotland as well as encouraging the growth of Scotland's economy. The NGS has been a major tourist destination of Scotland and international tourists have contributed to Scotland's economy. International engagement through exhibition abroad, professional exchange and international tourism helps promote the national image of Scotland overseas - that is to say, seemingly the NGS in a way functions as a soft tool for cultural diplomacy.

The other national remit of the Nationals which has been endorsed since devolution is to support the non-national sector by providing advice and professional expertise as well as building up partnerships. Regarding a leadership role, the National Collections bodies are expected to contribute to the development of national standards in their respective areas - as shown in the previous chapter. In addition, together with the notion of social justice, national-local cooperation is established through delivering educational programmes, touring exhibitions and outreach services. However, there is an issue of limited resources just as with the problem of digital development. The outreach role of the Nationals is advocated by the government, which leads to focused funding on outreach activities. Without any increase of public investment in this respect, the difficulty arises during the decision-making process, where disagreements may occur because of the fact that the achievements of the prioritised work are based on a compromise of the other

areas. Hence, although political intervention is not as obvious as in the cases of the Nationals in Taiwan, this case has shown that the national remits as a result of national funding and the national reporting framework have enforced the direction of the Nationals in Scotland, so have an impact on the operational context of the Nationals.

CASE 4: GLASGOW MUSEUMS

THE VALUE OF MUSEUMS TO THE CITY

As noted in the previous cases of national museums, ‘national’ refers to a museum’s legitimate status, its level of financing and its national remits that come with the national funding. A national museum’s role today is reflected in its founding background in relation to the changing political, economic, social and cultural settings of a nation over time. Likewise, the role and responsibility of a local museum can be reflected by its past and local context. Speaking of the character of a museum, Glasgow Museums have given a strong impression of local representation. As the largest civic museum service in the UK, the city’s collection is displayed in several venues; each individual venue has its own history of development and its own distinctive meaning to the city and the people. The development of Glasgow Museums as a whole coincides to mark several periods of significance in the history of Scotland’s museum sector, as demonstrated in Chapter Five. Some examples are briefly illustrated below.

The history of the city’s collection originates from a background of industrialisation dating back to the nineteenth century. The establishment of museums was encouraged then by private patronage and civic initiative as well as from a rational view of education about fine arts, science and technology. Glasgow’s Industrial Museum, established in 1870, was the beginning of the Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery. The Kelvingrove, built with the money made from a major exhibition in 1888 - influenced by the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 - opened to the public at its current site in 1901 as part of Glasgow’s International Exhibition, incorporating the collection of the Industrial Museum. Meanwhile, the People’s Palace and the Winter Gardens were formerly set up in 1898 as a local history museum with multiple functions, including a

library, exhibition gallery and music hall (the Winter Gardens), and changed to specialise in social history in the 1970s - in some way reflecting the circumstances of social-economic deprivation. To demonstrate local history in a different way, the establishment of the Museum of Transport in 1964 marked the ending of the city's tramway system. It has been closed since April 2010 to be relocated to the new Riverside Museum by 2011, which is an iconic infrastructure joined with a waterfront development campaign within the city's economic development strategy. Also as an exploitation of iconology in place marketing, the Gallery of Modern Art was founded in 1996 with the intention of enhancing the image of the city. This was a subsequent move following the city's achievements of hosting the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) of 1990, outlined in Chapter Five, where culture had been regarded as a mechanism of urban regeneration.

Accordingly, although what has been outlined here is only a microscopic part of the whole, their origin and transformation certainly reveal a strong link with and commitment to the local in terms of public services, historic significance and cultural representations. Even though there is increasing recognition of the role of a museum in the context of tourism in recent decades, local people remain regarded as the main focus for Glasgow Museums. As indicated in Chapter Two, Glasgow Museums have been concentrating on various aspects of visitor experience, coming up with new approaches to developing their overall services and individual venues, including the creation of a central department of learning and access, the provision of an outreach service through the Open Museum, as well as specific efforts relating to each venue's subject, strategic aims and objectives, and physical environment.

Base on the experiences of the interviewees involved in their practices, Glasgow Museums' dedication to linking their work to the issues of social inclusion and access is clearly seen in their cross-sectoral approach to actively engaging with a range of individuals, communities and groups from outside the museums. For example, in the learning and access department there are social inclusion coordinators based in the Gallery of Modern Art. They work on the engagement and development process of the contemporary art programme run by the Gallery of Modern Art with artists, communities, or a group, who may feel marginalised or underrepresented within Glasgow Museums. In addition, the St Mungo Museum

of Religious Life and Art, based in a site originating from a medieval time, is one of the few religious museums in the world. Dedicated to world religions and Scottish history, St Mungo works closely in partnerships with organisations such as the Scottish Inter Faith Council and Glasgow Sharing of Faiths. Aiming to enhance understanding and dialogue between people with different religions or none, it works to create a safe and equal environment for people to discuss matters related to society and religions. Temporary exhibitions, projects and talks are organised in line with the collection of world religions and the mission statement of the venue towards social inclusion outcomes. For instance, a series of talks under the Faith to Faith programme brings in people from all over Scotland to discuss current issues which are based on participants' suggestions and needs. Sometimes the work of St Mungo transcends religion to spark debate on social issues which currently affect Glasgow or the world, e.g. a project called Life after Iraq in 2008 delivered in cooperation with the Scottish Refugee Council. Moreover, Glasgow Museums work with the formal education sector and informal learning sector. Particularly in formal education, the infrastructure of A Curriculum for Excellence promoted in *Scotland's Culture* (Scottish Executive, 2006) has provided a curricular framework whereby culture and creativity are deliberately linked to learning and teaching for young people. As the Curriculum has been increasingly focused across all venues of Glasgow Museums, St Mungo, for instance, has progressively delivered formal education workshops whereby people coming from different local areas are brought together to participate in religious sessions in order to promote active learning. Meanwhile, the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) initiative is developed in St Mungo as well, to provide a series of workshops for teachers on religious and moral education, while CPD in other venues provides various workshops for teachers on different subjects, e.g. history sessions in Provand's Lordship and arts sessions in Kelvingrove.

The direction of their programmes and educational activities shows that Glasgow Museums have made a lot of efforts in social and learning and teaching dimensions. Certainly this development relates to how Glasgow Museums review their organisational purpose with regard to their origin and long-term commitment to the local; on the other hand, it appears to be a response to the government's social agenda. All in all, the case of Glasgow Museums corresponds

to the theory outlined in Chapter Two about the focus of contemporary museums on people rather than objects as a result of the tendency within the sector of conceptualising museums' work in a contextual way as well as the influence of an instrumental approach to cultural policy. Besides their strategy of linking internal resources with external resources, Glasgow Museums' endeavour to create an inclusive environment also has an effect on their consideration of the operational framework, which is identified in the following section.

LOCAL PROVISION OF CULTURAL SERVICES ON TRUST STATUS

It has been shown above that Glasgow's museum service includes some operations commonly applied to Glasgow Museums as a whole and other works specifically related to single venue. Such a large civic museum service is supported by different levels of decision-making to ensure a balance between delivering the communal vision of the city as well as maintaining the identity of an individual venue. Previously, in Chapter Five, it was mentioned that there was a trend in terms of local provision of cultural services where local authorities tended to support 'enablers', such as charitable trusts, to deliver cultural services. Here, a comparison of the provision of local cultural services between a single department and by a charitable trust is drawn by the case of Glasgow Museums.

Glasgow Museums entered a trust status on 1st April 2007 with the setup of the Culture and Sport Glasgow (CSG; which has applied the operating name 'Glasgow Life' since June 2010). Prior to that, it was part of the Culture and Leisure Services of the Glasgow City Council. The CSG is a large organisation that provides services on behalf of the Glasgow City Council, including museums, libraries, events, sports, community facilities and so on. Being a separate legal entity means that the Board of Directors has the legal power to manage budgets and make decisions on the management of services and facilities, e.g. staff wages and holidays. So far it is an open question whether the experiment is actually delivering or will deliver the necessary changes to improve efficiency. It was generally commented that the change has led to pros and cons. The main advantages include accountability, expertise and resources. It was commented that this change makes museums more accountable for their decisions,

compared to when museums were part of the Council's services. Reflected in core funding from the local authority, the accountability is based on a rather local perspective. Another benefit is associated with the increasingly diverse museum functions. For example, while museum shops have never been managed by the Glasgow Museums themselves, the Culture and Sport Glasgow (Trading) Community Interest Company (CIC) is in charge of commercial activities; the Board of CSG aids in this regard, with members possessing business expertise normally lacking in a local authority. It was deemed positive to the management of the CIC in terms of income generation through commercial activities including retail, photo library, catering, venue hire and corporate sponsorship. According to the CSG's Annual Reviews, from 2008/2009 to 2009/2010 the turnover of commercial operations increased by 30% and the operating profit increased by 58% (CSG, 2009, p. 37; Glasgow Life, 2010, p. 39). Besides, it was believed that the independence of a charitable trust would help open up funding opportunities and profitability, which used to be restricted by the bureaucracy of the local authority structure. Being a part of the Council's Culture and Leisure Services was sometimes frustrating regarding how the distinctions between different cultural services were ensured. Compared with the strategy and size of the local authority, which felt bureaucratic at times, the current independent CSG brings focus to and enhances the visibility of the museum service.

On the other hand, the trust status has shortcomings. It was pointed out that there were benefits of being connected to the local authority structure, in particular regarding access to other services within the Culture and Leisure Services, such as youth issues, community services and play, community learning and education. Such multi-generated services in one Council's department were an advantage for the museums to exploit different capabilities in their own practice. Thus, an environment was created where examples from across sectors were available to support the development of the work of wider concerns within the museums, although the bureaucracy sometimes caused some limits. Overall, access to and cooperation with these services in the local authority structure, as noted, promoted better communication than the current condition of working within an independent company. In particular, there is another layer of complexity in the relationship between a charitable trust and the local authority,

which has made the museums perceive the provision of their services in a different way:

Glasgow is still the specific owner of museum collection. All of it is owned by the people of Glasgow, owned by the Glasgow City Council, and we are the charity company that is engaged in care for and providing services using that collection actually. That pushes [the museums], policy-wise, slightly further away from where [the museums] were when [the museums] were directly under the local authority. (Museum Manager F, 2009)

While Glasgow Museums is one of the services delivered by the CSG on behalf of the Glasgow City Council, the operation of Glasgow Museums is carried out by the central service departments, including collection, visitor services, and learning and access, with the senior management team at the top. In a similar method of operation to the National Gallery of Scotland, central management structure enables resources, e.g. collection, conservation, expertise, research and technical assistance, to be shared by all venues. The museum is interpreted as a whole series of processes: acquiring, conserving, researching, communicating and exhibiting, and so the management structure aids in efficiency by preventing duplication in the processes. Such an understanding in some way corresponds to Glasgow Museums' attempt at becoming inclusive when it is also addressed by making "behind-the-scene work" accessible:

[...] one of the things we do is try to open up the behind-the-scenes work, so you can get into our stores [Glasgow Museums Resource Centre], and see what we got so that what have been traditionally in back of the operations are made available to the public. So we try to break down the distinction. (Museum Manager E, 2009)

With regard to budget, however, decisions are made by the senior management team depending on the situation and need of the individual venue, in consideration with the overall services and projects across Glasgow Museums. Sometimes financing priorities have to be made between recommendations proposed by different venues. Tensions and competition may occur between museums or between central management and venues; therefore, the challenge for the management is associated with resources.

FUNDING ISSUES

Resourcing is an issue for all museums. Despite the belief that the trust status can help increase funding opportunities and ease bureaucracy, difficulty still exists regarding fundraising as an independent company. In the preparatory outline, the CSG was envisaged to experience growth in fundraising and commercial income for the following five years. However, the assumption that the CSG is a big organisation with rich resources persisted, so it became difficult to raise money. Glasgow Museums as a whole has an operating budget of £14 million invested by the local authority. Glasgow's local spend on museums is the highest of all UK local authorities. The complete reliance on local spend and the increasing demand have made the city appeal for national funding, with several respondents distinguishing Glasgow Museums' situation by comparing it with the Nationals:

Our operating budget within the museums, probably a half or a third smaller than the Nationals but we are considerably bigger in a lot of aspects. Resource-wise, it is always very challenging. (Museum Manager F, 2009)

[I]t would be good to have more funding [...] for the government to be more aware of what we're doing. We're actually very lucky in Glasgow Museums because we are part of the Glasgow City Council [services]. A lot of local Councillors come along and endorse what we're doing which is absolutely brilliant. And I am really hoping that the information about what we are doing does get fed back up the tree. I think the National Museums and National Galleries get a lot more funding than we do, which is fine. But I think we should be seen as a part of those organisations because we are a huge service in Glasgow. We've got lots of venues and huge staff and resources [are required], and we're doing a lot of amazing work that doesn't really get talked about or heard of, which is a shame. (Curator, 2009)

[C]ompared to a national museum, for example, the number of staff we have is very few. For example in Kelvingrove each of the front-of-house staff supervises four or five galleries; in the national gallery it's one member of staff per gallery. So we're quite very thin. (Museum Manager E, 2009)

These comparative arguments with the Nationals - which link to the previous case of the NGS - show the lack of resources for the sector and the resulting competition for national funding. Chapter Six mentioned that local councillors were thought to be Glasgow Museums' main channel to the government rather

than the MGS, and this particularly relates to the issue of funding. As reported by the Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe) in October 2001 about the response to the *National Cultural Strategy* of 2000 from the main cultural organisations, Glasgow's convenor at the time, Elizabeth Cameron, showed the disappointment of the Scottish Executive's cultural funding concentrated in Edinburgh:

[...] Money to the arts is usually something I would applaud, but when I look at this statement from the Minister, I see that there is no mention of Glasgow's museums. We have a heritage that belongs to Scotland and the UK, yet the citizens of Glasgow are expected to fund this on their own. (Cameron, 2001, cited in Scottish Parliament, 2001, p. 8)

In May 2002, the Scottish Executive announced its contribution of one-off funding of £1 million to the Kelvingrove Refurbishment Appeal Trust for the Kelvingrove New Century Project, as well as extra funding of £2 million for the development of Glasgow Museums with regard to their potential in education and tourism (Scottish Executive, 2002b). Although the Scottish Executive did contribute capital funding to Glasgow Museums, in recent years the effort has continued to make the exceptional nature of Glasgow Museums visible to the Scottish government by drawing attention to their unique scale and quality of collections as well as their performance and ability to attract tourists so as to contribute to the national economy. However, there appears a divergence in the views of funding structures and accountability. Despite similarities of performance in some areas between local museums and their national counterparts, as recognised, local museums have different functions from the Nationals in accordance with the governance structures they are linked to:

[The Scottish Government] sponsor[s] the National Museums [and the National Galleries]. The National Museums [and the National Galleries] have obviously the national remits. The functions they perform are all on behalf of the nation. They have a much wider mission. They have international concerns. [...] They have to report to Ministers on certain aspects on what they do. They have to submit annual reports, annual expense on the money they receive. The local museums, however as you'll be aware, have different funding structures. They all have slightly different issues. Their functions are totally different. They are not founded by statutes. (Manager, Scottish Government, 2009)

[W]ith regard to the Glasgow Museums they are funded by Glasgow City Council. That's not something that [the Scottish Government] could implement. That's a different funding structure. Funding issues need to be addressed by the local council. (Manager, Scottish Government, 2009)

In fact, the issue of national funding to non-national museums is rather concerned with the procedure in relation to the governance structure. National museums and galleries in Scotland and Taiwan are all funded by the government, directly or through the ministerial authorities, and the budgetary procedures are usually independent to an extent. On the contrary, the local authority's funding for local museums is considered in terms of the provision of services overall, or in the context of culture and relevant services, where decision-making on resources is undertaken on a level above the museums, depending on each local infrastructure. Non-nationals, like the case of Glasgow Museums, have different rationales for national funding, yet an effective mechanism and principle of national funding is what the non-nationals request - which is linked to the arguments against the Recognition Scheme in the previous chapter. Prior to the Museum Summit, the funding issue of Glasgow Museums was brought up once more to the Culture Minister in early 2009, after an additional £3.5 million in government funding was agreed for the capital city (Ferguson, 2009), leading to high-level talks over an equal funding framework for the sector (Paterson, 2009a, 2009b; Currie, 2009). However, the foreseen cuts in the public service sector in 2010 and 2011 as a result of the global economic recession forced the CSG to decide in December 2009 to close five museums on Mondays (Stephens, 2009), followed by planned pay freezes and cuts in public holidays and overtime rates, which caused a series of strike actions by museum staff in April and May 2010 (McIvor, 2010; Atkinson, 2010a, 2010b). These moves, resulting from the financial crisis, have challenged the long-lasting principle and the recent commitment of Glasgow Museums - public service and access - as well as raising doubts over the governance of the CSG, particularly when the CSG spent over £50,000 on the rebranding of the organisation as Glasgow Life in the meantime (Hutcheon, 2010; BBC News, 2010). With the subsequent work of the Museums Think Tank, the case of Glasgow Museums has been identified along with the overall examination of the development framework for the provision of museums at different levels (Ferguson, 2010). A fairer share of national resources is now being formulated through the revision of the Recognition Scheme as well as the

development of a National Development Body (NDB) and the national strategy, where the CSG (now Glasgow Life) and the Nationals are involved as key partners in working with the MGS and the government (Paterson, 2010; Scottish Government, 2010m). Although it remains to be seen how the new framework will help deal with the issues of funding concerning the balanced role and responsibility of national and local provision, challenges seem to continue to face Glasgow Museums regarding the current economic climate, as an announcement of 300 job cuts over the next two years was made by Glasgow Life in December 2010 (Atkinson, 2010c).

CASE 5: THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY

THE DESTINY OF A UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

The Hunterian Museum was the first public museum in Scotland, originally founded in 1807 with its housing fund and the core of its initial collection donated by the Scottish scientist and anatomist Dr William Hunter to the University of Glasgow after his death in 1783. The Hunterian Museum moved with the University from its original site in the centre of Glasgow to the West End of the city in 1807, and moved again to its present location in 1870. Hunter's collection is extensive in variety and contains his own medical work; the entire collection has been further expanded since then and included artwork by James McNeill Whistler and Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Specific collections, such as the zoological collection and the anatomical collection, have been placed in other University buildings to form the Zoology Museum and the Anatomy Museum, while the art collection is housed in the Hunterian Art Gallery, and Hunter's library has been incorporated in the Glasgow University Library.

Born with a link to the University, the Hunterian has served the university community for over 200 years. Next to its origin, the governance structure for university museums is rather different from what has been addressed previously regarding national museums and local authority museums. In some ways, university museums seem to have a mixture of qualities of national museums and local authority museums, considering their non-national characteristics and funding from national streams. The core operation of the Hunterian is funded by

the Scottish Further and Higher Funding Council (known as the Scottish Funding Council, SFC) as well as by some University departments. In addition, university museums are entitled to funding through higher education bodies. For example, the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) provides grants for research to universities and so to university museums, since they are part of the university. These funding streams tend to be project-based, yet may be advantageous for university museums because they may or may not be available to national museums, local authority museums or independent museums. Apart from the general issue of difficult financing for the whole museum sector, it seems that university museums like the Hunterian are acceptably resourced. Also because of these funding streams, the operation of the Hunterian is required to meet the needs of academia, e.g. access to the collection. In addition, museum professionals of the Hunterian have been involved in the activities of academic circles. For instance, curators may teach on subjects in relation to the collection as well as produce research works that are incorporated in the practice of predominant research groups. Nevertheless, it was noted that the research function of the museum is mainly to support the academic world and its activities. Thus, the delivery of museum service is combined with assistance to academic departments, which reveals a particular role of a university museum.

The resourcing advantage is also benefited by the position of the Hunterian in the University structure, as the Hunterian is considered alongside other University departments, so that support from the University is equally provided to the Hunterian and other departments, e.g. the general maintenance of the buildings. Originally, the management of shops - one in the Hunterian Museum and the other in the Hunterian Art Gallery - was a responsibility of the Hunterian itself. With the intention of increasing profitability, responsibility for the shops has been reallocated to the Glasgow University Heritage Retail Limited (GUHRL), and a profit of £9,000 to £12,000 per year is projected. However, as noted, with regard to funding from the University departments, some of the income generated from the museum operation, e.g. admission fees to the Mackintosh House, venue hiring and retailing, are required to be returned to the University's finances. In this way the Hunterian's actual revenue becomes relatively small:

If I take the current financial year, we are required to generate £75,000 of income that goes back to the centre. For a variety of

reasons, the University would understand we didn't meet that figure; therefore they reduced our target. We'll meet the reduced target. That means the result of that is very little income left over for us. [...] our total budget is £1.8 million. If you get £5,000 to £10,000 after return to the centre from your commercial operations, it doesn't do very much at all. Anything extra allows us to do something we should gratefully receive it in use, but it's not important for most operations. (Museum Manager G, 2009)

In addition to the operating budget and project funds from research organisations, grants schemes for the museum sector are another potential source of investment in capital or revenue projects. However, the nature of university museums is to an extent contrary to the requirements of standards and objectives set in the frame of these grants, which leads to a dilemma between the museum's primary role linking to the academic world and a new role containing a public purpose.

THE DILEMMA OF THE MODERN UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Certainly, the Hunterian is a research, teaching and learning resource for University staff and students, which is different from the obligation of local authority museums to perform on local issues and deliver services to local residents. Nevertheless, the Hunterian is traditionally an open public museum, even though in the past it has been sometimes difficult to maintain this status. While the University intently makes a public impression of a centre of knowledge and culture in modern time, the Hunterian plays a centre stage role for the University in connecting with the wider community of Glasgow, people in Scotland and from the rest of the UK, and a global audience. As a result, the Hunterian has been engaged in a process of change in response to the tendency for a greater reach to the public. The balance between the two functions as a public museum and a research resource centre has been an issue for the Hunterian and the university museum community to address with parent organisations and representative bodies. For example, the MLA's review of the Accreditation Scheme points out that some requirements of the standard do not fit the operating reality of university environments and do not consider the distinctive nature of university museums. Access issues are particularly identified because of the fact that some of the collection is used for teaching or housed in separate locations and university spaces. In that case, there are

challenges for some university museums to meet access requirements and conduct forward planning according to the Accreditation Scheme (Hopkins Van Mil, 2009; Jura Consultants, 2009).

Furthermore, in the view of a university museum, as emphasised, the primary stakeholders are the research and teaching institutions by which the fundamental direction for the museum is illuminated. However, most of the additional funding in line with museum policy is directed towards the objectives of public services. Therefore, the Hunterian found itself faced with a dilemma in which the core funding drives the Hunterian in one direction while the project funds force it in another direction. Yet it was noted that instead of choosing between the two directions, this could be a matter of balance between the focused operation in providing services for the university community and the extended work in connecting with the wider community. An increasing convergence of services appears in the decision-making process of the museum, while solutions are continuously sought in museum policy by calling for the fundamental distinctiveness of university museums to be recognised.

PARTNERSHIP FOR GOOD?

The public side of the Hunterian has increased the engagement and development of partnership working within the museum sector and across sectors to connect with the public. More than that, partnership is regarded as an effective way of bringing in resources for museum practice. For example, the Hunterian's partnership with the National Gallery of Scotland was once initiated by the National Gallery for an exhibition of Mackintosh's watercolours. As the major lender, the Hunterian Art Gallery helped co-curate this exhibition and create a substantial part of its publication. In return, the National Gallery offered resources to support the Hunterian in the conservation of a collection of eighteenth-century paintings by William Hunter. Because of the exchange of skills, both have enhanced their profiles. In the same way, the Hunterian builds up a relationship with Glasgow Museums by sharing expertise. The exchange of skills and knowledge is based on projects and collections on specific subjects, e.g. textile, silver and Mackintosh. Such partnerships are productive and so will

continue on the conditions that there is a need for advice, the schedules fit each party and there are resources available to cooperate.

In some occasions, partnerships are formed with respect to cash resources: to reduce or to improve. For example, in 2009 a special exhibition, *Edvard Munch: Prints*, was held by the Hunterian and open to public free of charge. In addition to the Hunterian's principle of free admission, it worked in the sense of a reduced cost as there was no charge for the borrowing. This was enabled by an exchange loan between the Hunterian Art Gallery and the Munch Museum in Oslo: the Hunterian loaned a collection of Whistler's prints to the Munch Museum, and in return the Hunterian borrowed Edvard Munch's prints owned by the Munch Museum. Next to that, another motive underlying partnership working, as noted, is to raise money, e.g. the Hunterian's route of accessing AHRC funding may make it appealing for the Nationals and Glasgow Museums to partner with the Hunterian. While such partnerships appear to be occasional, a city-wide partnership has been recognised to be practically beneficial in the long term. The Mackintosh Heritage Group is an example of bringing different organisations across the city to work together, such as the Hunterian, Glasgow Museums, the Glasgow School of Art and the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society. The Mackintosh Heritage Group, involving a range of the Mackintosh properties, has evolved from an informal association by means of frequently sharing information into a formally constituted organisation in early 2008. The benefits of this partnership are multidimensional in terms of enhancing expertise, improving cash investments and maximising values of this unique heritage of Glasgow. It was pointed out that this collective identity enables all participating organisations to apply for funding from the local authority, national agencies such as Scottish Enterprise and VisitScotland, and the UK-wide Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). Thereby, this collaboration has provided a wider range of opportunities and benefits from external bodies for the Hunterian.

Despite that, partnership is not always preferable. One reason would be the geographical closeness between the Hunterian and the major municipal collections and national collections in Glasgow and Edinburgh, for which cooperation would be unnecessary in terms of long-term loans or touring exhibitions. Another reason would be the distinction of drivers for activities in these organisations of different governance structures. For instance, a storage

crisis has recently been facing the Hunterian, and a discussion was held with Glasgow Museums regarding the use of part of the newly built Glasgow Museums Resource Centre in Nitshill, six miles away from the University. Eventually, the idea was not pursued further because of the concern that such a move of the collection would destructively affect the relationship between the Hunterian and the university community. Also, there may be challenges for the university museum and the local authority museums to co-organise an exhibition since the two types have different views and methods of interpretation concerning major audiences. While local authority museums tend to be determined to make their collections accessible to the widest possible audience, the language or visual design used by the local authority museums to support information is not an essential approach for a university institution. Overall, the distinctive role of the university museum has once again shown the diversity of the sector in terms of principle and practice.

CASE 6: TAIPEI STORY HOUSE

FROM A PRIVATE RESIDENCE TO A PUBLIC MUSEUM

The Taipei Story House is now the second most popular museum in Taipei after the National Palace Museum. It used to be known as the YuanShan Villa, and it was constructed by prominent tea merchant Chen Chao-Chun during the Japanese colonial period (1913-1914). At that time, Taipei was transforming into the political, financial and educational centre of Taiwan, and European styles were extensively applied to the city's architecture. The English Tudor-style YuanShan Villa was used as a meeting place for local gentry, Japanese officials and foreign guests, and also as a recreational house for Chen's family (Chen, 2005). After 1945, it was once a senior official's residence and then converted into a commercial art gallery. In 1979, the building was purchased by the Taipei City Government and managed by the neighbouring Taipei Fine Arts Museum. It served as the Artists Union from 1990 to 1998, until it was formally designated as a historic site and closed down for renovation (Chen, 2005). In 2003, the Cultural Affairs Department of the Taipei City Government, striving to promote revivals of historic sites, invited a private investor, Ms. Chen K. C., to sponsor and manage the renovated YuanShan Villa, which was then transformed into the

Taipei Story House. The founding and operation of the Taipei Story House are managed by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act.

In the case of the Taipei Story House, the privatisation process of a public service is relatively decentralised. The contracted relationship between the Taipei Story House and the Taipei City Government was described as “between trusteeship and tenancy” (Museum Manager B, 2009). Different from trusteeship, the authorised contractor is also the sponsor to the property in public ownership; compared with the tenancy, the contractor’s occupation and use of the property for a fixed period does not involve a rent paid in return to the authority. The founder and Executive Director of the Taipei Story House, Ms. Chen, is the first, and the only so far, authorised natural person to manage a historic site, undertaking the sponsorship of the heritage. Managing the heritage on behalf of the Taipei City Government, she has freedom in operational decisions on the condition that the Taipei City Government is informed and consent is given. The operational decisions, ranging from the initial idea of managing the space as a mini museum about civic life, to the general management, e.g. space planning, entry fees and opening hours, are all based on a consensus. Officially, each outsourced heritage site is governed by the Taipei City Government through an individual supervisory committee consisting of academics and professionals. In that case, the committee represents an external input to the decision-making process of the Taipei Story House.

The Taipei Story House is financially supported by Ms. Chen’s personal fund of over NT\$30 million⁵⁶ for a four-year term of the contract - the contract has been extended and is now in its second term - as well as the revenue generated from entry fees and the rent paid by the restaurant operator. Most of the personal fund was invested in the groundwork through the first three years. The finance of the Taipei Story House has been steadier since the fourth year of operation, where 60% of total expenditure was balanced by the revenue, covering the running costs of staff and administration. The other 40% of total expenditure, mostly on exhibitions and activities, still relies greatly on Ms. Chen’s sponsorship. It was said that the performance of the Taipei Story House has attracted more

⁵⁶ This is equivalent to £510,000 according to an average exchange rate between 2003 and 2010.

investors and has grown project-based partnerships, reducing its reliance on the personal fund.

The responsibility for the maintenance of the historic building belongs to the Taipei City Government. Sometimes the City Government offers support by working in cooperation with the Taipei Story House to deliver cultural activities as well as assisting the Taipei Story House to receive grants of central funding streams, such as the *Museums of Local Culture* campaign. Although national funding for cultural heritage is available through the Headquarters for Administration of Cultural Heritage (HACH), the funding is focused on the provision of private sector heritage conservation, because according to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, heritage of public ownership should be funded by the authorities, management groups or persons responsible for it. The HACH only provides supplementary support to local-level refurbishment projects for public sector heritage. Hence justified by the City Government, the *Museums of Local Culture* campaign is the most suitable in this case. While local authorities are asked to conduct an initial assessment of each application in their local areas for the grants of *Museums of Local Culture*, the Taipei City Government has marked the Taipei Story House a priority case, considering its performance and funding condition. Thereby, the Taipei Story House has also benefited from national funding in 2008 and 2009.

THE SOLE CASE OF SUCCESS?

Outsourcing has been a prime strategy adopted by the Taipei City Government in the delivery of cultural heritage conservation in recent years. As explained previously, the regeneration of a heritage site is planned with reference to its traditional function and historic meaning. 'Heritage' remains at the heart of these regenerated cultural venues, while diverse functions are applied in their operation. In the same period as the birth of Taipei Story House, other outsourced heritage sites in Taipei City were transformed into different forms of cultural venues, such as specialist cinema (SPOT Taipei Film House), theatre (the Red Playhouse), and an art gallery (the Taipei Museum of Contemporary Arts). Although encouraging private investment is a purpose of the outsourcing policy, it was remarked by many respondents that outsourcing is no guarantee for the

financing of a cultural venue; instead, publicly funded ones have greater financial security. In fact, the Taipei Story House seems to be an unusual case for which the operating fund of this private-run public museum has been mostly invested by the patron instead of the local authority, whereas other commissions of outsourced heritage sites were partially funded by the City Government through the Cultural Affairs Department - as defined, an outsourced venue would still be able to receive an amount of public funding that covers no more than 50% of its operating budget. However, two advantages of outsourcing were pointed out. First, outsourcing is applied as a practical solution to the governance of heritage sites or subordinate cultural institutions for its adaptability beyond the civil service system in terms of staffing and partnership. While a heritage site or an institution is contracted out, the local authority's responsibility for it changes from executive to advisory. Second, outsourcing is esteemed for the intangible value of individual creativity. The diverse operational models of heritage regeneration in Taipei are a result of the combination of the imagination of independent patrons and the inspiration of each unique heritage.

The Taipei Story House has been widely regarded as an impressive example of a contracted-out cultural heritage institution which can be specified by two points. First, the Taipei Story House's success is attributed to the consistency of its long-term vision for heritage regeneration. The key to this lies in the planning and implementation of the contract. The concept of the Taipei Story House was well communicated between Ms. Chen and the Taipei City Government, with the input of consultants in the planning stage before the contract was signed. The concept, including commercial facilities in addition to cultural services and products, was clearly stated in the agreement and faithfully put into practice overseen by the supervisory committee on behalf of the City Government. In contrast, for example, while profitable operations including a cinema, bookstore, café and restaurant were also written in the contract for SPOT Taipei Film House, transformed from the former American Consulate in Taipei and operated by the Taiwan Film and Culture Association, it was criticised for a large extent of commercialisation after the venue opened to the public in 2002. Regardless of its relevance in a cultural dimension, external pressure forced the management team, led by internationally acclaimed director Hou Hsiao-Hsien, to change

direction, where part of the commercial space was re-designated for non-commercial use. In the end, it affected the consistency in carrying out the work agreed in the contract and was an attack on such public-private cooperation. The negativity was related to an unclear definition of commercial activities in the outsourcing policy of the early stages. As a result of the dispute involved with SPOT, a limit of 30% of the total contracted-out area was added in the regulation regarding occupancy for the use of commercial activities.

Second, as mentioned earlier, although encouraging private sector sponsorship is the initial idea for a public-private partnership in these outsourced models, the adaptability to employ expertise unavailable within the civil service system is an advantageous motive in the view of the local authority. Next to individual creativity, professionalism of ‘the right person’ is the other important factor behind the effectiveness of Taipei Story House. It was noted that the professional background of Ms. Chen, who is a lawyer with experience of working with the business sector and the former President of National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF), has enabled the management of the heritage regeneration project and an unusual type of museum in such a newly-developed public-private relationship. On the other hand, problems relating to management or resources occurred in some other projects, leading to the termination of the public-private relationship. For example, the Red Playhouse, opened in 2003, was managed by a cultural organisation, the Paperwindmill Cultural Foundation, comprising filmmakers and theatre workers. These cultural practitioners had creative visions and experiences of cultural management; however, the already difficult finances of the parent organisation eventually affected its ability to continue the undertaking of the Red Playhouse. In contrast, the example of the Taipei Museum of Contemporary Arts was about limited knowledge of cultural matters rather than a lack of money, as its commissioners were a group of major enterprises in the high technology industries. Despite good business practice and the capability of sponsoring, there was a gap between the board, consisting of business representatives, and the management team of people from the art field. In addition, it was difficult to achieve its fundraising target due to a general assumption of sufficient corporate resources behind the project. Also pertinent for the corporate participants, credit for sponsorship was shared with other partners rather than all recognition going to one individual company. In

consequence, aspiration and interest faded away. In the two examples above, the commissioners were unwilling to extend the contracts after four years of operation - no renewal of contract was made at the end of the first term. Afterwards, while the functions of both venues have mostly been retained, their operations were handed to the Taipei Culture Foundation, a semi-independent organisation established with money from the Taipei City Government and the private sector. The Taipei Culture Foundation is presently chaired by Lee Yung-Ping, a politician and the former Taipei deputy mayor (2009-2010), who served as the head of the Cultural Affairs Department of the Taipei City Government from 2007 to 2009 and was a Member of the Legislative Yuan from 2002 to 2007 - the venues managed by the Taipei Culture Foundation are still categorised as outsourced, yet this organisation's state implies a degree of political manipulation in their operations.

Although the City Government continuously promotes outsourcing, the truth is that there has been an obvious decline in this regard. The main reason behind the decline is the inflexibility of the outsourcing framework. As noted, in the current framework the commissioners are required to be responsible for all dimensions of operation regardless of their different specialities and conditions. It has been shown above that the Taipei Story House is the only case so far that is capable of self-resourcing as well as demonstrating the professionalism of its own type. Moreover, next to the set criteria concerning a connection between historic role and new function, bids for outsourced heritage projects and performance measurement are assessed by the City Government in a quantitative way, whereby decisions are rather made upon a numerical analysis of visitors, staff and budget. In that case, problems in the current outsourcing approach are not really dealt with. Hence, it was argued that the City Government should be more responsive in the process, and flexibility should be introduced to the framework by providing separable lines for the private sector to get involved in accordance with each individual bidder's capacity.

Overall, the success of the Taipei Story House is no doubt a result of good judgment and foresight in the management of an outsourced project. This case has a huge impact beyond the scope of the Taipei Story House, as Ms. Chen was invited by the City Government to undertake another heritage regeneration project. In accordance with the Taipei Story House's operational experiences,

the development of this new project has involved the Taipei Story House's management team and supported by Ms. Chen's funding of NT\$7 million⁵⁷ over three years. Yet, this regenerated heritage site, opened to the public in April 2009, has completely different characters from the Taipei Story House - once again a product of individual creativity inspired by unique heritage features. The site is now operated as a heritage centre, aiming to act as a core to develop a network of Taipei's cultural heritage. A foundation has been formed to manage the heritage centre, with a goal to encourage participation in heritage conservation as well as bring in wider resources for sustainable city-wide cultural development.

Although a museum is not the only form of product of a heritage regeneration project, the case of the Taipei Story House has shown a general interest in the outsourcing approach to management of cultural institutions of public ownership, as well as a growing type of museums at local level in the wave of heritage conservation, particularly promoted by the *Museum of Local Culture* campaign with a large investment by the central government, as outlined in Chapters Four and Six. It is worth noting that the heritage-regenerated museums are mostly small in scale, so there are usually no permanent collections. In the case of the Taipei Story House, items of exhibitions on a quarterly basis are retained on loan from public museums, independent museums or private collectors. However, the developing Museum Act is expected to be a minimum national standard for the museum sector, providing the definition of a museum in universal terms. In this way, such a 'heritage in essence and museum in shape' type of museum (or quasi-museum) may be limited by the regulations for its heritage status, e.g. building revamp and storage; moreover, it may be excluded from official recognition as a museum and would not be eligible for relevant support. The case of the Taipei Story House has marked a grey zone which the CCA or the future Ministry of Culture ought to address in the framework of the Museum Act in consideration with other relevant legislations.

⁵⁷ This is equivalent to £140,000 according to an average exchange rate for 2009 and 2010.

CONCLUSION

This work has adopted a cross-national comparative method, where the dynamics in the policy process have been examined through the construction of the interrelations between various factors in relation to the distinct national contexts. The six case studies in this chapter have further demonstrated how the history attached to a museum is relevantly presented in contemporary organisational approaches, and how ideological perceptions of cultural policy and structural elements within a political system have influenced the practice of a museum.

In practice, the role and responsibility of a museum can be interpreted in various ways, depending on one's standpoint. The features of a museum, on the other hand, have revealed a connection with its organisational past and the related context. The National Palace Museum's historic importance not only refers to the remarkable collection of Chinese civilisation, but also denotes the era of Chinese cultural hegemony on Taiwan following the consequences of the Chinese Civil War on China. The National Palace Museum thus has had a very unique position close to the political centre since its foundation, bearing a high level of political responsibility in addition to conventional museum functions. For the National Taiwan Museum, its root in the Japanese colonial period was once an obstacle for its development given the Chinese Nationalist government's decolonisation policy, yet it gained increased recognition during the pro-Taiwan-independence DPP regime since its non-Chinese, Taiwan-centric essence suited the party's political arguments. Apart from that, its collection of natural history - not national, social or cultural history - has prevented it from getting further involved in the dispute over 'representation' in the polarised political climate. In the case of the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS), although the establishments of the National Gallery of Scotland in 1859 and the National Portrait Gallery in 1889 reflected a wave of Scottish nationalism in the politically unionist environment of that time, the work of museums that developed with the civilisation of the Scottish society centred on collections of objects - the traditional object-oriented practice. As access issues have been raised through governmental policy in recent years, there seems to be a shift of orientation within the Nationals from 'objects' towards 'people', where there is

a need to prioritise resources among the traditional professional tasks and overriding requirements set by the government, e.g. outreach activities. Comparatively, Glasgow Museums have had a strong local character since the development of the metropolitan museum services dating back to the nineteenth century, when civic initiative and a rational view of museums encouraged museums' public service role to grow. The dedication to public functions has endured up to the present time, as the potential of museums in the context of urban regeneration has been acknowledged and promoted. Thereby, the practice of Glasgow Museums appears to be leaning towards a greater connection with local communities in terms of economic and social impacts. University museums, like the case of the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery - the first public museum in Scotland - reflect the earliest type of museums, which originated from antiquarianism and intellectual activities. The Hunterian's close relationship with the university community is linked to how the museum is defined in terms of its approach to its work and audience. Therefore, while the Hunterian works on extending public access as required, it is faced with challenges as the delivery on access issues is to an extent against the nature of a university collection. The Taipei Story House is a relatively new case concerned with recent heritage regeneration and privatisation of public services in Taiwan. It is an innovative creation which self-positions as a museum committing to 'civic heritage' - as this historic building means to Taipei City. It represents an atypical museum operation (e.g. no permanent collection of objects) characterised as 'heritage in essence and museum in shape', which is an increasingly common form at local level.

In addition to historical consequences, the operation of a museum has shown certain effects of contemporary political ideologies interlinking with institutional constraints. Since its development was driven by Chinese nationalism imposed by the KMT government until the 1980s, the National Palace Museum has held a supreme position as a ministerial-level body that grants it greater power and access to funding than any other national museum, such as additional funding to support digitisation and develop the creative concept. However, the structural superiority and the extent of political intervention are two sides of the same coin. Even under the rule of the DPP from 2000 to 2008, the Taiwanese nationalist perspective did not affect its status; instead, a Southern Branch was

proposed to diverge it from the total Chinese subject. Apparently, the operation of the National Palace Museum contains a political motive to a degree, where its role in domestic political dynamics, or the unresolved cross-strait relations and international diplomacy, has reinforced its institutional importance and affected its development repeatedly. Conversely, the development of the National Taiwan Museum is associated with the capacity, priority and approach of its governing body, the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), as the CCA's concentration on heritage conservation and community building is clearly seen in the design of the National Taiwan Museum System project. Although the project initially included a political intention of the DPP to strengthen a Taiwanese national identity, its nationalist objective only became a restraint on the implementation and was eventually diminished. The future of the National Taiwan Museum is more concerned with upcoming changes in the public service sector, such as the setup of the Ministry of Culture and the legislation of the Museum Act. Therefore, compared with the exceptional National Palace Museum, the National Taiwan Museum's national role is not as strong, but the case has illustrated the issues facing most national museums in Taiwan. Different from the bureaucracy in Taiwan, the National Galleries of Scotland is an independent NDPB; however, central government sponsorship implies the accountability that the government seeks in the NGS, and the recent invention of the National Performance Framework indicates a set of national outcomes for public service bodies to align their work with, as addressed in the NGS's corporate plan. With the government's enthusiasm for the contribution of culture to national identity and the advocacy of a leading role of the National Institutions in Scotland's cultural development since devolution, the national role of the NGS has grown, which is shown in its commitment to outreach activities nationwide in partnership with regional or local groups as well as its presence on an international stage. Hence, cultural nationalism underlying the policy framework appears to be an important factor that has an influence on the strategic and operational contexts of the NGS. For Glasgow Museums, the legacy of the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) is seen in the local authority's cultural strategy of place marketing in relation to tourism development and urban regeneration. The significance of cultural icons to the city may explain the fact that flagship museums such as the Kelvingrove, Glasgow's Gallery of Modern Art and the Riverside Museum, which is due to open in summer 2011, have barely

been affected by the council cuts compared with other smaller museums. The setup of the CSG - an 'arm's length' organisation - was a turning point for Glasgow Museums, where museums are becoming more accountable and able to acquire extensive expertise support. Nevertheless, the financial crisis has made such an approach to the governance of Glasgow Museums questionable, and highlighted the issues of national funding for non-national museums as regards the collections' national and international significance as well as their contribution to national economy. It is then clear that in an instrumental policy framework the work of Glasgow Museums is valued by how it is justified within local, national and international contexts. Here again, the instrumentality of cultural policy remains a problem for a university collection. On the one hand, the obligation accompanying grants-in-aid - usually on a project basis - requires the Hunterian to demonstrate its wider impact and extend its reach to a greater extent, as seen in its increasing involvement in a city-wide partnership. On the other hand, its primary role of serving the university community in terms of teaching, learning and research is well-defined, also given its core funding from the Scottish Further and Higher Education Funding Council (SFC). Hence, the Hunterian has found it challenging to strike a balance between the two ends, which seems to explain why university collections call for better recognition of their distinctiveness in policy initiatives. In a very different way, the Taipei Story House has been marked as a case of the outsourcing approach to the governance of a public cultural service. The entrepreneur in this case has taken a responsibility for sponsorship and trusteeship of the museum on behalf of the local authority. The success of the case compared with other examples brings to light that the key to sustainable development of a privatised public museum is consistency in fulfilling the contract and adaptability in various outsourced models regarding professionalism and resources, together with consideration of the distinct features of a site. Hence, there appears to be a need for improvement of the current outsourcing framework as the interest of the private sector is on the decline. The case has shown that individual creativity has contributed to the diversity of such heritage-regenerated cultural scenes, indicating a trend of combining the concepts of heritage and creativity in cultural policy, as cultural heritage organisations are now included in the cultural and creative industries policy (see Chapter Four).

So far, the thesis has revealed the complexity involved in the subject matter, considering various perspectives of theory and reality. The six case studies here have individually illustrated causes and consequences of the internal operations in response to external forces in the policy process; their relevant contexts have also been examined. The findings of the case studies have corresponded to contemporary issues in relation to the national contexts indicated in the historical and structural analyses of the preceding chapters. To conclude the study, evidence from the contextual and empirical examination at the macro- and micro- level is combined and compared to draw national differences and limited similarities between Taiwan and Scotland in the final chapter.

Chapter Eight : CONCLUSION

The goal of this research has been to analyse how cultural policy influences the practice of a museum and illustrate the dynamics of the policy process in terms of the museum and gallery sector. By applying a case-based cross-national comparative methodology, it has explored the relations between factors with respect to individual national circumstances. The research has considered two levels of comparisons: first, the macro-level study has focused on the historical context and institutional structure of each country to illustrate distinct conditions and national strategies for certain issues; second, the micro-level has examined several organisations to distinguish individual uniqueness and identify common concerns.

In this final chapter, the findings and their analysis are drawn together, and the most important points arising from the study are discussed under four themes: diversity, nationalism, institution and creativity. These themes individually form a specific aspect of the subject and together provide a comprehensive discussion over the issues relating to the research objectives set at the beginning of the thesis. In this order, these four interlinked themes illustrate the dynamics of the cultural policy process concerning museums progressively from historical foundations to contemporary practices.

With historical consequences and structural factors taken into account, the first theme shows the difference of museums as a sector between Taiwan and Scotland, and the distinctiveness of a museum within the sector in relation to its origin, core operation and its situated contexts. As museums engage in cultural policy initiatives, concerns are raised about how government policy considers the speciality of museums. It then identifies that the diversity of museums requires a further attention in the development of cultural policy in order to bridge the gap between policy and practice. The second theme relates to causes and consequences of policy development regarding museums in terms of unique national circumstances. By understanding the past of a nation, it explains the present policy reality of Taiwan and Scotland. It identifies the influence of a nationalistic political environment on the framework of cultural policy for museums and subsequent effects on the operation of museums, especially the

nationals. The third theme indicates fundamental challenges within the current political systems of Taiwan and Scotland. With the major concerns for funding and structure relating to the position of museums in the cultural policy framework revealed, it explains how institutional factors affect the direction of museum development. The final theme relates to how museums are considered in the cultural policy context in terms of creative industries. As museums are not the centre of creative industries policy, the relations between museums and the creative sector are interpreted differently in Taiwan and Scotland. However, as the case of the National Palace Museum has shown, museums can play a role in this regard, which thus opens an opportunity for museums to have access to extra resources and develop accordingly. This theme then opens up new possibilities of research in the role of museums in the context of creative industries policy.

After the discussion of the four themes, a short statement is provided to summarise the research by reflecting on the theoretical and methodological aspects, indicating the contribution of this research and suggesting future directions of study.

DIVERSITY

Since the museum is an institution derived from the Western world in the seventeenth century, generally speaking, modern museums based on the Western model have the functions of conservation, display, study and communication, with the collection in the centre of their work. The development of contemporary museum studies has extended the functions of a museum by reconceptualising the meaning of a museum. As indicated in Chapter Two, the interpretation of this institution has shifted from an emphasis of fundamental functions towards a greater connection with society, including an enhanced role in education and entertainment as well as increasing concerns in relation to issues such as national identity, creative economy, social justice and cultural diversity in recent years. As these wider concerns become the common language used in policies, or politics, there has arisen a great deal of academic discourse exploring economic and social impacts of culture, developing models of evaluation, discussing culture as a means of urban regeneration, considering

the concept of cultural citizenship, and arguing about the instrumentality of cultural policy where culture is no longer the intention and target of cultural policy. It has been warned that there is a need to increase consciousness and responsiveness to cultural development in cultural policy. However, such consciousness and responsiveness is related to how culture is recognised and to what extent culture is esteemed by the government. As argued by Gray (2007, 2008), the instrumentalisation of cultural policy is a complex process and it has to be considered with contemporary political ideologies and structural weakness of the cultural sector, or the museum sector specifically. Such varied complexity in Taiwan and Scotland has been investigated in Chapters Four, Five and Six, while the difference of managing the process between organisations has been illustrated by the case studies in Chapter Seven.

As shown in Chapter Two, about the universal definitions of museum, there is no doubt that museums have the task of preserving the past for the future, which makes the collection the centre of museum work. However, the role of museums appears to be interpreted in different ways by every stakeholder involved in the sector across borders, partly depending on a museum's history. In the research, a method of historical analysis has been applied to understand the parameters in the development of cultural policy and the evolution of museums. It has respectively specified the forces in the past, and the legacies of these forces are revealed in the contemporary museum scene, where a causal relationship between practice, policy and the contexts has been also brought to light. The research has found that the history of a museum has determined the museum's contemporary manner, where variations emerge in operational approaches between individual museums of different scales, types and governance structures.

There is one thing in common among Scotland's cases: museums tend to identify their focused audience in order to elucidate their specific purposes in relation to their origins. Fundamental distinctions between national museums, local authority museums and university museums in Scotland have been demonstrated by the case studies of the NGS, Glasgow Museums and the Hunterian. The nature of collections determines the main areas a museum is responsible for and the main audience a museum focuses on, which relates to the formation of a specific approach to communicating with this audience. Because of each museum's

original variety of approach, museums can work in very different ways. In general, national institutions and university museums originally had their functions centring on objects, whereas local authority museums have had a social side of remits directing their work towards visitors. Presently, some national museums are trending towards giving precedence to visitors, while university museums retain their commitment to university communities in terms of providing support for research, teaching and learning. However, with increasing project funds from outside academic circles, a university museum may have a further obligation to serve a wider general public as regards the issue of 'access', which creates a dilemma for the university institution with regard to its original approach. Accordingly, there is apparently no formula to decide the direction of collection and audience in accordance with the categories of museums. Even if compared with other collections in the same category, there are distinctions in terms of scale and quality of collections. This also leads to ambiguity and argument regarding standards and funding in relation to how a museum works and what a museum's essential role is. Since the accountability of public service institutions in receipt of government funding has been emphasised, museums at all levels are evaluated by the same criteria set within the UK-wide and Scotland-wide performance standard frameworks, or various overarching quality models, such as the Accreditation Scheme, the Quality Improvement System and the National Performance Framework. In this regard, museums are required to work in accordance with the government's priorities. There was a common concern amongst the interviewees that the diversity of the museums sector has not been well addressed in museum policy, where challenges occur in real practice. The concern has also been noted on different occasions, such as the review of the Accreditation Scheme and the Museums Think Tank's deliberations. Therefore, it is necessary to keep monitoring the future development of policy framework at UK and Scottish levels to see how this diversity is considered.

In comparison with Scotland, where fundamental distinctions are revealed mainly by the nature of collections, museums in Taiwan have been influenced to a great extent by changes in the political context. In fact, Taiwan does not have a long history of museum development. The earliest museums originated in the beginning of the twentieth century, as a Western product imported through

Japanese colonialism. It appears that museums have been considerably treated as a political tool since then. Particularly in the post-WWII era, museums were faced with Chinese cultural hegemony resulting from the Chinese Nationalist government's political and cultural reform movement against Communist China. As shown, the National Palace Museum was given a supreme role in safeguarding 'Chinese national treasures', and such a perspective on its political importance still exists at present, given its role in cultural diplomacy, cross-strait relations and balanced development between the north and the south regions. In such an authoritarian climate, the National Taiwan Museum, built by the previous Japanese colonial government, was downgraded from central to provincial level. Museums were exploited as a means of political control in the name of social education. Museums - other than the exceptional National Palace Museum - were officially defined as social education institutions and instituted within the educational system. In this regard, acquiring and preserving collections was not the initial rationale for the establishment of museums at that time. For the purpose of education, national museums - particularly scientific ones - were mainly regarded as a conveyer of knowledge, and their function of 'exhibition' was excessively emphasised. Thus, the government's approach to museums focused more on hard infrastructure, e.g. the construction of museum buildings, than on soft infrastructure, e.g. the development of museum contents. However, there has been a general lack of understanding of as well as interest in museums in the public policy sector. As noted, not until the 1980s did museums at local level start developing in relation to community building and cultural heritage policies; not until the late 1990s did the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) begin to be responsible for museums; and not until recent years did the CCA undertake policy development for museums. The principles and practices of cultural heritage and community building - the beginning of modern Taiwan's cultural policy - have become the core of cultural policy thinking and implementation. It seems that at local level there is a tendency towards the French concept of ecomuseums, away from the grand theory in terms of a traditional model of museums. Museums (or quasi-museums) regenerated from heritage properties tend to have small or no permanent collection. Tangible collections are not the centre of their work. Instead, these institutions are dedicated to the notion of heritage, the relationship between heritage, community and environment, the emphasis on cultural traditions and local qualities, and the closeness of contents

to people's life, as demonstrated by the case of the Taipei Story House. Such a wave has subsequently influenced national museums, particularly those under the CCA, exemplified by the National Taiwan Museum System project, which was conceived by combining ideas of museum, heritage conservation and urban planning. It is noticeable that the museum sector is still under the impression of 'places for exhibits', evidenced by the 'museums of local culture' evolved from local cultural centres, as well as the recognition of museums as 'Cultural Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances' in the context of the cultural and creative industries. For a century, museums in Taiwan have developed diverse roles along the lines of different policy concepts. With the beginning of museums as a subject of cultural policy, how museums will be defined in their own right while remaining interrelated to other issues within the cultural policy context is a question that needs to be addressed following the setup of the Ministry of Culture in 2012.

Overall, the background of a museum certainly has an effect on its positioning, operation and management of its relationship with its audience. Fundamental differences are shown between individual museums, various categories of museums and the museum sector across countries. Although it appears that public policy has an effect on the tendency of contextualising museums and their work, it is also hoped that the diversity of museums can be appropriately translated in the development of strategy and framework, which requires a more comprehensive understanding of the sector and a more balanced approach to museum policy from governments.

NATIONALISM

The research has uncovered that nationalism in political terms is embedded in the dynamics of the policy process in Taiwan and Scotland, where different nationalist forces have had an effect on the direction of cultural policy and have been reflected in the structural context. As the concept of national identity is approached to express nationalism, and the culture of a nation is regarded as an important facet of national identity, attention is given to the role of museums in identity formation, given their functions of conserving and presenting cultural heritage of social communities. As indicated in Chapter Two, the tendency of

museum development in recent decades has been to conceptualise the work of museums in relation to society, where 'messages' are conveyed and interpreted through museum activities - the communication between museums and visitors. In this regard, collective meanings are formed based on shared concepts; therefore, museums are connected to cultural representation of certain communities which can be understood at a local, national and global level.

In an ideal world, representations in museums should recognise the diversity of cultural identities, where museums function as mediators in the process and create an equal environment for public debate. However, a collective cultural meaning reflecting the subjectivity of the dominant group is usually produced in the process of identity construction and lodged in museums. As Hsu (2003a) describes, the museum scene resembles a presence of a power system in terms of resource allocation:

No matter how we discuss the establishment of museums, especially community-based museums, is through a 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' process, the fact is that regarding resource allocation, museums' survival in the environment containing various public and private groups is all about cultural power where museums discover and present the balance of diverse cultures within the society. (Hsu, 2003a, pp. 173-174)

In a political environment influenced by nationalism to a large extent, such as in Taiwan and Scotland, Hsu's proposition - "museums discover and present the balance of diverse cultures within the society" - appears to be a difficult mission or embodied in a nationalist context. This is particularly relevant to national museums.

As shown in the course of Taiwan's history, the assimilatory policy of the Japanese colonial government had intended to raise the political recognition of the Japanese Empire and impose a Japanese identity on the society despite to a certain extent allowing the local communities to keep their culture. As a result, a collective identity beyond cultural origin and neighbourhood kinship developed. The establishment of museums then was driven by political ideology in order to present and strengthen Japan's imperial power. Later, under the party-state dictatorship, Chinese nationalism on Taiwan grew extensively as a consequence of absolute political actions in opposition to Chinese Communism on China.

Compared with the dominant cultural power representing ‘mainlanders’ - those emigrated from China to Taiwan since 1945 and mostly in 1949 - Taiwanese natives’ cultures were undermined until the localisation movement of the 1980s and the 1990s. As a matter of fact, museum governance and operation had been considerably affected by the Chinese nationalist perspective. With changes in the political and social environments after the 1980s, the Taiwanese Consciousness that had developed as a reaction to the Japanese colonialism and the Chinese Nationalist authoritarianism began to challenge the concept of nationality defined by the Kuomintang (KMT, the Nationalist Party) government. Taiwanese native culture, which had been previously regarded as ‘local’ within the Chinese context, was advocated as ‘national’ under the rule of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) between 2000 and 2008, whose enthusiasm for cultural nationalism dedicated to a non-Chinese Taiwanese national identity can be seen in the establishment and development of Taiwan-centric museums at the national level. Despite respect for the cultural diversity of Taiwan, the conflict between Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism has been exaggerated by the polarised politics, where the tension between the KMT and the DPP continues influencing cultural policy decisions to an extent as regards the ideas of and approaches to national identity.

From the history of museums on a UK level, the rational view of museums in the mid-nineteenth century articulating how museum education could contribute to the industrial production and economic competitiveness of Britain was connected to the demonstration and promotion of British nationhood. The Victorian glory was later admired by the New Right government during the 1980s and the 1990s, reflected in the Conservatives’ attempt to reinforce a British national identity through promoting a market economy and heritage despite seemingly having England as the focus of attention. On a Scottish level, a degree of autonomy in cultural development had been retained in the unionist political environment throughout the nineteenth century. The establishment of several national museums in Scotland was a result of the civilisation of Scottish society and a presence of Scottish cultural identity during the development of Scottish nationalism, which confidently appealed for Scotland’s equal status in the political union. In the twentieth century, before the end of the 1970s, different unionist discourses about Scotland’s relationship with England did not affect

Scots' acceptance of a dual identity; however, there was a shift in cultural expression from Scottishness within the body of Britain towards the difference of Scotland. Particularly after the late 1980s, Scots' definition of the union and a British identity was challenged as political divergence between Scotland and England resulting from the New Right's reform and approach to Scottish issues, as well as the rise of Scottish nationalism, led to the growing belief of 'Scottish solutions to Scottish problems', the creation and decentralisation of several Scottish national cultural bodies, and the establishment of a devolved government in Scotland. For the devolved Scottish government, there has been a priority to maintain the national community. From the Labour and Liberal Democrats coalition to the Scottish National Party (SNP), culture has been regarded as an area concerned with the promotion of Scottish national identity, and the ideas of 'the national' have shaped the development of a national policy framework for supporting Scotland's cultural sector: the leading role of National Collection bodies in the infrastructure, the 'national significance' of non-national museums, the overarching National Performance Framework comprising prioritised national outcomes for the public service sector, and so on. In this regard, issues of cultural diversity, social inclusion or social justice appear to be addressed within the context of a Scottish national community. Therefore, Scottish nationalism is a significant factor affecting the future of cultural policy in Scotland as regards the level of political autonomy of Scotland needed to articulate national identity.

INSTITUTION

The influence of governance structure on resources is an issue of concern for museums. Chapter Six has illustrated the role of governing bodies or a representative agency, the structure of governance in relation to accountabilities, standards and issues of funding, and in Chapter Seven each case has clearly shown the advantages and challenges facing a museum in a particular model of governance. Differences between national settings have been revealed. While privatisation of public services is a trend in Taiwan in the process of public reform, where a public service is based on a contracted public-private partnership, a national reporting line (National Performance Framework) has been introduced to the public services sector in Scotland, aiming to align

their work with the high level issues. As the Recognition Scheme was recently launched to acknowledge and support the collections of national significance across Scotland as a starting point for Scotland's museum policy development, a *Museums of Local Culture* campaign with large public investment embarked on celebrating local cultural diversity, given the CCA's long dedication to the support of local cultural development. Concerning distinct national contexts, to conclude, this section highlights the most concerned institutional issues behind museum policy in the respective political systems.

The channel of central support to the non-national museum sector has been a subject in the history of museum policy development in the UK. Under devolution there has been progress in creating a national cultural infrastructure. However, there is still debate concerning the disparity with regard to capital funding between national and local provision of museum services. It is understood that the categories of museums cause an enormous difference in resource allocation. It is positively thought that instituting the Nationals as NDPBs, enabling them to receive more funding directly from the Scottish government, is an improvement, and the Nationals have a close relationship and regularly liaise with the government. However, it is argued that there could be a degree of political influence on their independence and autonomy, which might be against the 'arm's length' principle, as their position is so near to the political centre. The concern for political interference was brought up during the consultation regarding the Draft Culture Bill of 2006. It was considered that Scottish Ministers would have authority over direction of the National Collections bodies, since the Ministers have the power to appoint board members - even though it was asserted that Scottish Ministers would not interfere with the professional field. In fact, although the chairman and the trustees are appointed by the Culture Minister, the posts are advertised in the public press. The appointment is an open process controlled by the Office of the Commission for the Public Appointment in Scotland (OCPAS) - the OCPAS controls public appointments for all governmental bodies that have trustees or council members. In this regard, political intervention - if there is any - would likely be related to the particular political interest of individual board members. Comparatively speaking, the influence of the government on the Nationals should be concerned with the emphasis of accountability in relation to funding: being central-

government-funded indicates an obligation for museums and galleries to take on a national role and responsibility, and deliver what the national funding is provided for as determined by the government. In particular, the National Performance Framework created by the SNP government has listed a set of national outcomes for public service bodies to align their corporate strategy with and prioritise their effort according to the government's objectives. Hence, the government's instrumental approach to the governance of museums has a greater impact on the direction of museums.

On a local level, as previously mentioned, there is variation in terms of local authority provision for arts and culture. The delivery of cultural services has been shown in a wide range of local authority structures, from a single department to a joined-up service combining culture with sports, leisure, education and/or community services, from local authority's direct provision to operation by a charitable trust. There may be an equally clear limit in terms of political involvement since local authority museums are frequently monitored in accordance with local political agendas and account for part of the performance of a local authority's service provision. In addition, the hierarchy of the local authority structure results in a lower status of museums within the overall context of local public services. Thereby, museum professionals - despite holding senior cultural posts - tend to have little influence on decision-making regarding resources and targets, so that museums are faced with difficulties when considered together with other services, such as social work, leisure facilities, educational services and security departments. Although several funding schemes were introduced to the non-national museum sector, it is generally considered, particularly by large museum services, that there is a lack of national capital investment in non-national museums - as demonstrated in the discussion of the Recognition Scheme - and so there is a need for a mechanism of a more balanced funding distribution and effective framework to enable transformation in the non-national sector.

The limit of access to funding in relation to the category of a museum is not particularly an issue for local authority museums. In fact, national institutions are excluded by certain project-oriented funding streams, while university museums have their sources from research societies. Besides, there is a big difference between geographical areas and local districts in Scotland, so local

museums are different in terms of scale, form and management. All the differences have to be considered in the design of a funding scheme. Therefore, the issue of funding is linked to the diversity of the sector. Apart from insufficient resources for the sector in general, the reason behind the demand for national capital investment to non-nationals is perhaps the uncertainty of funding in relation to the aforementioned hierarchy of structure, compared with the case of the Nationals. With the launch of the Recognition Scheme, which identifies non-national collections of 'national' significance, as well as the National Performance Framework, which brings public cultural bodies into line to work towards 'national' outcomes, there is a rationale for non-nationals to call for national support for their core work. Regarding the issue of resources, roles and structures, the challenge might be to establish principles and mechanisms beyond the limit of governance structures, with the Recognition Scheme as the basis. This seems to be even more difficult as museums are faced with financial crisis due to global economic recession - this was a key message conveyed in the Museum Summit, followed by cutbacks in public spending at UK and Scottish levels. As this is one of the main areas that the Museums Think Tank has deliberated, in this stage the issues of funding and the balance between national and local provision are dealt with through the revision of the Recognition Scheme and the development of a supporting structure and national strategy for museums. Here, attention has also been brought to the functions of Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS), as the Think Tank has suggested options for establishing a National Development Body and an advisory forum to oversee the diverse sector in a unified way. Overall, there are clear distinctions in the funding and levels of financing, which is part of the nature of the sector with regard to the fundamental differences between museums. Once again, the diversity of the sector is a crucial issue that requires further consideration in policy development.

Compared with Scotland's museum sector, which was faced with a transformation under devolution in terms of developing Scottish national cultural infrastructure with underway museum policy development, Taiwan's museum sector encounters a more complex situation where paradoxes occur in the process of policy development resulting from variables within the context. First of all, there has not been any focused museum policy - even the *Museums of*

Local Culture campaign should be regarded as an extension of community building policy. Secondly, changes in the wider public sector have made policy development more uncertain. The restructuring of the central administrative system is certainly the main concern. In the ongoing process of public reform, centralisation is an obvious direction regarding matters relating to culture, where museums will be included in the remits of the Ministry of Culture. On the other hand, the public corporation - a new public management model towards decentralisation - has been considered in the governance of museums. In relation to this structural contradiction, the third conflicting proposition is the legislation of the Museum Act. Although it is unclear what the Museum Act will eventually entail, it is generally seen as a governing tool for the future Ministry of Culture, which will establish the fundamental benchmark for the sector, including definition, governance and management. In this way, it seems to align with the course of the centralised Ministry of Culture; however, as its formulation is based on the centralised structure, once the Public Corporate Bill is enacted and affects the museum sector, the Museum Act will become contrary to the decentralised museum scene. Other variables, as addressed previously, including the impact of the government's priorities on the progress of legislation and the influence of leadership on the direction of cultural policy, will also affect the making of the Museum Act. Next to that, efforts have been put into the development of a ranking framework under the Act. The framework is intended to take into account the diversity of the sector in accordance with the purpose, scale, type and quality of the museum; standards and funding in line with the ranking framework could transcend governance structures. Here, a fourth point has to be addressed. As shown, there is a growing type of museums, or quasi-museums, encouraged by the concepts of cultural heritage and community building. This is without doubt an area to be addressed in the development of museum policy with an inclusive review of cultural heritage policy and community building policy.

CREATIVITY

The research has examined museums in a bigger policy picture, interconnecting museums with wider issues. The concept of creative industries is one of those linked with the sector, particularly focused in the case of the National Palace

Museum. From the experience of the National Palace Museum in terms of digitisation and the cultural and creative industries, it has shown positive impacts on approaches to museum operation and evident contributions to the concept of creative economy. However, challenges are also identified.

As a pioneering museum in Taiwan, the National Palace Museum's performance always provides lessons for the overall museum sector. What cannot be shown in the outcomes of participating in creative activities is the problems overcome in the process. Firstly, the National Palace Museum's models of licensing of intellectual property are established in the effort of finding proper regulations and laws, as there are no Intellectual Property Right Laws especially made for museums' needs, and this is a new field for museums. In the case of the National Palace Museum, copyrights and trademark rights are more frequently applied. Meanwhile, the National Palace Museum is a completely government-funded museum. Only a small part of the income generated from 'added-value applications' (see Chapter Seven) goes into its own special acquisition fund. The market performance does not directly affect or benefit its operation. There is a need to modify the regulations for the fund and introduce a mechanism to deal with conflicts arising from museums' non-profit nature - this is the notion underlying the Operation Fund created by the Ministry of Education for its subordinate national institutions, as demonstrated in Chapter Six. Secondly, funding consistency is an issue. There are various phases in the National Palace Museum's three projects; each phase lasts five years. Participating in national digital programmes, the projects have been dependent on funding from other governmental bodies. While the national digital archives programme is working on its second phase from 2007 to 2011, the national e-learning programme was accomplished in 2007 and has been incorporated with the national digital archives programme. There is always funding for national digital development; however, with the change of plans, the purpose and direction are to some extent altered. The National Palace Museum seeks a flexible use of previous achievements and seizes another opportunity to advance itself using new entitled funding. The third challenge is limitations for the overall museum sector in Taiwan, reflected by the advantage of the National Palace Museum as a superstar museum. Regarding the contents, the National Palace Museum has a wealth of collections, which is the essence of attracting international visitors,

forming world-wide partnerships and developing creative production and consumption. In addition, with regard to public resources, it has to be a ministerial-level body to take part in national digital programmes. The National Palace Museum's unusual status has enabled it to access further resources for developing the digital aspect. Finally, looking into the definition of the cultural and creative industries, museums are mostly recognised as part of the 'Cultural Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances' industry (re-defined as 'Cultural Heritage Applications and Facilities for Exhibitions and Performances' in the new Act for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries passed in January 2010). Also, art galleries are occasionally related to the 'Visual Arts' industry. As the case of the National Palace Museum has shown, museums have the potential to be connected with the 'Design' industry. Although the government's commitment to developing the cultural and creative industries is clear, there is a need for a clear understanding and statement from the government of what role a museum can really play in the cultural and creative industries context, apart from the function of exhibition, as it is evident that museums can perform in different ways. Although this research has not been able to evaluate further developments driven by the Act, it is notable that interest in the cultural and creative industries concept is prevailing, and the resources that the government has been investing in this respect is an appeal to the museum sector to look into any possibility of development.

As indicated, creative activities in the National Palace Museum are operated in the concept of cultural marketing, based on the achievements of digital development in support of the core work. As the income generated from these activities is returned to the state treasury, for government-funded national museums - except those with the Operation Fund - involvement in creative activities is not mainly for a financial purpose. Instead, creative production and consumption is seen as a way of connecting with their audience: the collection is the asset of a museum with which to make creative products for the audience to consume so as to convey the message. For example, despite no further resources to develop the creative concept in the current stage, the National Taiwan Museum has looked into a potential creative model of its own. It was said that given the National Taiwan Museum's collection of natural history, a possible direction for its creative activities is to connect with the knowledge industry and

develop innovative teaching and learning materials on the subject of natural science. In the case of the Taipei Story House, creativity lies in the centre of its formation and operation; that is to say, this whole concept of a mini museum about civic life embodied in a listed historic building in a regeneration project has been considerably contributed to by individual creativity. Also, it plays a part in the chain of creative production and consumption by providing space for independent artists to present and sell creative products to the public; the selected aesthetic products are considered relevant to people's everyday lives, in line with its 'civic life' theme.

So far, it appears that the concept of creative economy is realised in museum operation in some cases and is of interest to the museum sector in Taiwan, despite the lack of clear recognition in the cultural and creative industries policy. Yet, in terms of the role of museums in creative industries, museums in Scotland have a different perception. Comparatively, in Scottish museum culture there is little convergence nowadays between the circle of museums and the creative industries initiatives, which were originally activities within a traditional Arts Council. Questions have been raised about the drivers, actual functions and outlook of the new Creative Scotland, for which all forms of creativity are formed in the frame of a public body. The interest in the concept of creative industries depends on how Creative Scotland works. The research has found that digitalisation is seen predominantly in association with learning and access. Although three cases in the research all have photo or picture libraries offering digital images for purchase and licensing, such a service is mainly seen as a kind of income generation activity and the museums are not further involved in the creative process. It appears that the relation between museums and the creative sector is bound by 'inspiration' found in collections, artistic programmes and events, or by displaying artists' works. As noted, the link with Creative Scotland was mentioned as the Museums Think Tank reflected on a National Development Body in support of the museum sector; however, it was deemed improper to place museums and galleries within the structure of Creative Scotland, considering its remits and business model. Here, it is clear that Scotland's museum sector has a common concern for the core value of a museum not being recognised on its own terms. For most interviewees in the research, the concept of creative industries, which is driven by economics, is fundamentally different

from the museum's centre of work. Yet, at this point, the fundamental distinctions between museums once again lead to different interpretations. For example, the NGS, which is going through a process of change, sees the potential of digital development in the creation of commercial opportunities, while Glasgow Museums stands resolutely on the social side, exemplified by the Collection Navigator project, which makes part of its collection available online as regards the issue of access. On the other hand, the Hunterian considers the opportunities in terms of creative activities based on its connection with the university community. Overall, in the view of Scotland's museums, there is a risk if the genuine purpose of a museum is overwhelmed by an economic target - or sometimes a social goal as well. It is hoped that the sector can be seen as an 'ending' rather than a 'mechanism' within a policy.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As outlined in the introduction chapter, the inception of this research related to an interest in the increasing emphasis on the use of culture in public policy as shown in the phenomenon of cultural regeneration in recent decades. The research, in line with Gray's (2007, 2008) theory regarding the instrumentalisation of cultural policy, has uncovered a combination of exogenous and endogenous forces in the policy process by investigating ideological change and structural complexity. It is evident from the study that museums have been working in a contextual way, revealing an orientation towards 'people' in their approaches. Although there is a sectoral movement calling for conceptualising the work of museums in connection with society, it is clear that the organisational transformation occurred in museums to a large extent relates to the tendency of instrumental cultural policy. Therefore, this research has provided further insights into the various contextual factors in the policy process and the influence of cultural policy on museum practices.

The research is original in examining the dynamics of the policy process in relation to individual national circumstances. By applying a cross-national comparative methodology, the unique circumstances of a nation and its sub-societies in terms of political, economic, social and cultural conditions have been protected and considered through the research process. In this way, it has

identified causes and consequences of cultural policy and constructed relations between governments, museums and changing environments in Taiwan and Scotland, which have been demonstrated in depth by case studies. It has revealed that museums act as an instrument by linking their work to political visions that are reinforced by structural factors in terms of accountabilities and resources. However, like Gray's notification, the research has shown tremendous variations across countries and between organisations regarding the complexities of the instrumentalising process. Issues concerned with museums are justified by the political power at a time and associated with particular national conditions. In addition, it has pointed out that museums differ in their responses to these policy issues since every museum is fundamentally distinctive. The distinctiveness of a museum is related to its origin, history of development, governance and management, which bases its purpose, forms its approach to operation and determines its main audience. Hence, this research argues that the challenge for policy-making in terms of museums is to address the diversity of the museum sector.

Overall, the case-based cross-national methodology applied in this research has effectively helped to reach the initial aim and objectives. The research has proved that the ideological perceptions of cultural policy and the complexity of structural context within a political system and the distinctions between individual organisations contribute to the dynamics of the policy process. Through comparing Taiwan and Scotland, it has contributed to the body of knowledge about opportunities and restrictions of cultural policy regarding museums within the individual systems as well as alternative approaches to cultural policy and their effects on certain issues.

On the other hand, there are some limitations of the methodology undertaken as well as the scale and structure of the thesis. As a result, side issues and thoughts have emerged from the study, suggesting a number of areas for further research. First of all, this research has identified different perspectives on the role of museums in creative industries leading to different strategies for cultural policy in Taiwan and Scotland. This is an area to be developed further in order to examine whether museums should be involved in the creative industries policy and how this could be dealt with. Secondly, while focusing on the individuality of a nation and a museum, this study has chosen some national museums and

locally-based museums - which all locate in either capital or major municipal cities - for the detailed analysis of the policy process. It is thus necessary to consider studying other museums of different sizes and types in various parts of Taiwan and Scotland or in other countries. For Taiwan, as indigenous affairs is a key area of public policy, it could be useful to consider non-Western models of museum practice, look into different curatorial structures in indigenous cultural traditions (Kreps, 2003, 2006) and explore cultural policy in terms of museums and heritage in conjunction with relevant indigenous policy. For Scotland, as highlighted earlier that the diversity of Scottish museums is related to the big geographical and local difference, any study of Scottish museum policy in the future could involve small museums in rural areas as they would constitute different variables on the subject.

Finally, while this research has devoted to the explanation of complex relations between factors in the policy process and highlighted how changes in politics have greatly affected the perceptions of museums and brought about subsequent developments, such dynamics has also been proved to be a difficult task of a full examination. In the period of research, there have been changes in governments, in policies, in organisations and undoubtedly in environments. While there is museum policy under way in Taiwan and Scotland, all sorts of variables have made the development of museum policy uncertain. Therefore, attending to these factors behind the dynamics continues to be essential for monitoring the future museum policy and influence on museum practice in these two countries.

APPENDIX A: MUSEUM DEFINITIONS ACCORDING TO ICOM STATUTES

Year of Amendment	Main Definition	Additional Definition
2007	A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.	
2001	A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The above definition of a museum shall be applied without any limitation arising from the nature of the governing body, the territorial character, the functional structure or the orientation of the collections of the institution concerned. b. In addition to institutions designated as "museums" the following qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. natural, archaeological and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature that acquire, conserve and communicate material evidence of people and their environment; ii. institutions holding collections of and displaying live specimens of plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria and vivaria; iii. science centres and planetaria; iv. non-profit art exhibition galleries; v. nature reserves; conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archives centres; natural parks; vi. international or national or regional or local museum organisations, ministries or departments or public agencies responsible for museums as per the definition given under this article; vii. non-profit institutions or organisations undertaking

Year of Amendment	Main Definition	Additional Definition
		<p>conservation research, education, training, documentation and other activities relating to museums and museology;</p> <p>viii. cultural centres and other entities that facilitate the preservation, continuation and management of tangible or intangible heritage resources (living heritage and digital creative activity);</p> <p>ix. such other institutions as the Executive Council, after seeking the advice of the Advisory Committee, considers as having some or all of the characteristics of a museum, or as supporting museums and professional museum personnel through museological research, education or training.</p>
1995	<p>A museum is a non-profit making permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.</p>	<p>a. The above definition of a museum shall be applied without any limitation arising from the nature of the governing body, the territorial character, the functional structure or the orientation of the collections of the institution concerned.</p> <p>b. In addition to institutions designated as "museums" the following qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. natural, archaeological and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature that acquire, conserve and communicate material evidence of people and their environment; ii. institutions holding collections of and displaying live specimens and plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria and vivaria; iii. science centres and planetaria; iv. conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archive centres;

Year of Amendment	Main Definition	Additional Definition
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> v. nature reserves; vi. international or national or regional or local museum organisations, ministries or departments or public agencies responsible for museums as per the definition given under this article; vii. non-profit institutions or organisations undertaking research, education, training, documentation and other activities relating to museums and museology; viii. such other institutions as the Executive Council, after seeking the advice of the Advisory Committee, considers as having some or all of the characteristics of a museum, or as supporting museums and professional museum workers through museological research, education or training.
1989	<p>A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, and open to the public which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The above (main) definition of a museum shall be applied without any limitation arising from the nature of the governing body, the territorial character, the functional structure or the orientation of the collections of the institution concerned. b. In addition to institutions designated as "museums" the following qualify as museums for the purposes of this definition: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. natural, archaeological and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature that acquire, conserve and communicate material evidence of people and their environment; ii. institutions holding collections of and displaying live specimens of plants and animals, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria and vivaria; iii. science centres and planetaria; iv. conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archive centres;

Year of Amendment	Main Definition	Additional Definition
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> v. nature reserves; vi. such other institutions as the Executive Council, after seeking the advice of the Advisory Committee, considers as having some or all the characteristics of a museum, or as supporting museums and professional museum workers through museological research, education or training.
1974	<p>A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of the society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment.</p>	<p>In addition to museums designated as such, ICOM recognizes that the following comply with the above definition:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. conservation institutes and exhibition galleries permanently maintained by libraries and archive centres. b. natural, archaeological, and ethnographic monuments and sites and historical monuments and sites of a museum nature, for their acquisition, conservation and communication activities. c. institutions displaying live specimens, such as botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria, vivaria, etc. d. nature reserves. e. science centres and planetariums
1961	<p>ICOM shall recognise as a museum any permanent institution which conserves and displays, for purposes of a study, education and enjoyment, collections of objects of cultural or scientific significance.</p>	<p>Within this definition fall:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. exhibition galleries permanently maintained by public libraries and collections of archives, b. historical monuments and parts of historical monuments or their dependencies, such as cathedral treasuries, historical, archaeological and natural sites, which are officially open to the public, c. botanical and zoological gardens, aquaria, vivaria, and other institutions which display living specimens, d. nature reserves.

Year of Amendment	Main Definition	Additional Definition
1951	The word museum here denotes any permanent establishment, administered in the general interest, for the purpose of preserving, studying, enhancing by various means and, in particular, of exhibiting to the public for its delectation and instruction groups of objects and specimens of cultural value: artistic, historical, scientific and technological collections, botanical and zoological gardens and aquariums. Public libraries and public archival institutions maintaining permanent exhibition rooms shall be considered to be museums.	
1946	The word "museums" includes all collections open to the public, of artistic, technical, scientific, historical or archaeological material, including zoos and botanical gardens, but excluding libraries, except in so far as they maintain permanent exhibition rooms.	

(Source: ICOM, 2009, available at: http://icom.museum/hist_def_eng.html)

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How do you see the role of museums in society? (i.e. cultural, educational, academic, social, economical, entertaining or tourism purpose) Who are the museum/gallery's target audience/visitors? How does the museum/gallery communicate with the public about its role, and which method do you think is the most useful? (i.e. marketing, community initiatives, touring, special exhibitions, association with other cultural activities, partnerships with other museums/galleries, cultural organisations, or tourism industries)
2. How do you think of museums in relation to the cultural and creative industries?
3. What do you think of free admission policy (or free entry to public museums/galleries)?
4. Who has the museum/gallery been in close relationship/partnership with? (i.e. corporate, public body, cultural organisation, community group, or another museum) What kind of occasions/projects/programmes has the museum been in a partnership with the aforementioned organisation(s)?
5. Has the museum/gallery ever sought cooperation with national museums/galleries? Why (not)? Was it easy to build up a connection with the National(s)? What do you think can be improved in the collaborative process?
6. Do you think the category of the museum/gallery (i.e. national museums, local authority museums, independent museums or university museums) have an impact on accessing resources? (i.e. central/local support, funding, expertise or professional development) In what way do you think the network of the museum sector can be improved to enhance resource allocation?
7. What is the greatest difficulty occurring in the current cultural environment for the museum/gallery? How is it? Why is it?

8. How do you see the future development of the museum/gallery? Is there any new plan/project in consideration? What is the priority for the museum/gallery to develop? (i.e. physical environment, partnerships, marketing techniques, staff/volunteering, training and education, youth programmes, community initiatives, commercial activities, cultural tourism, or others)
9. In your opinion, what is the most needed legislation for the museum sector? (i.e. funding framework, public structural reform, national standards, digital and technology development, or others)

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO THE USE OF DATA 資料使用同意書

I understand that YING-CHIEH CHIU

我了解邱映潔

is collecting data in the form of recorded interviews

正在以錄音記錄訪談的方式蒐集資料

for use in an academic research project at the University of Glasgow.

以用於一份在格拉斯哥大學進行的學術研究中。

I give my consent to the use of data for this purpose on the understanding that:

我了解並同意其為以下所述之目的而使用訪談資料：

- All names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised.
 - The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
 - The material will be retained in secure storage for use in future academic research
 - The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.
- 所有姓名以及可能指出個人身分的資料將會匿名。
 - 本資料將會以機密文件處理並且安全保存。
 - 本資料將會安全地保存以作為未來相關學術研究之用。
 - 本資料將保留以供未來可能之印刷與網路出版之用。

Signed by the contributor: _____

本資料貢獻者簽名：_____

Date: _____

日期：_____

Researcher's name 研究生姓名: **Ying-Chieh Chiu** 邱映潔

Supervisor's name 指導教授姓名: **Professor Philip Schlesinger**

Department address 系所地址: **Centre for Cultural Policy Research, Theatre Film and Television Studies, 9 University Avenue, Glasgow G12 8QQ**

ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	American Association of Museums
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
AMCs	Area Museum Councils
BOT	Build-Operate-Transfer
CADW	Welsh Historic Monuments
CAMC	Committee of Area Museum Councils
CCA	Council for Cultural Affairs
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CPP	Community Planning Partnership
CSG	Culture and Sport Glasgow
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DNH	Department for National Heritage
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
ECOC	European Capital of Culture
GUHRL	Glasgow University Heritage Retail Limited
HACH	Headquarters for Administration of Cultural Heritage
HBMC	Heritage Building and Monuments Commission
HEACS	Historic Environment Advisory Council for Scotland
HGIOCS?	How Good is Our Culture and Sport?
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICTs	Information and communication technologies
IT	Information technology
KMT	Kuomintang; Nationalist Party
LibDem	Liberal Democrats
LIC	Library and Information Commission
MA	Museum Association
MGC	Museums and Galleries Commission
MGS	Museums Galleries Scotland
MLA	Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NCAF	National Cultural and Arts Foundation
NDPB	Non-departmental public body

NEA	National Endowment for the Arts
NGS	National Galleries of Scotland
NHMF	National Heritage Memorial Fund
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMAI	National Museum of the American Indian
NMS	National Museums of Scotland
OCPAS	Office of the Commission for the Public Appointment in Scotland
OT	Operate-Transfer
PABS	A Partnership for a Better Scotland
PSIF	Public Service Improvement Framework
QIF	Quality Improvement Framework
QIS	Quality Improvement System
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RDCF	Regional Development Challenge Fund
RDEC	Research, Development and Evaluation Commission
RMN	Reunion des Musées Nationaux
RSA	Royal Scottish Academy
SAC	Scottish Arts Council
SCF	Strategic Change Fund
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SFC	Scottish Further and Higher Education Funding Council
SLIC	Scottish Library and Information Council
SMC	Scottish Museums Council
SMEs	Small and medium size enterprises
SNP	Scottish National Party
SOAs	Single Outcome Agreements
SRAC	Scottish Records Advisory Council
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

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